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THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 1948

KERES AND LEMURES . . . . . *Herbert J. Rose* 217

THE "DIVINE HERO" CHRISTOLOGY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT . . . . . *Wilfred L. Knox* 229

THE ABBÉ LAMENNAIS ON FREEDOM . . . . *Frederick E. Ellis* 251

PLINY AND THE CHRISTIANS . . . . . *Robert M. Grant* 273

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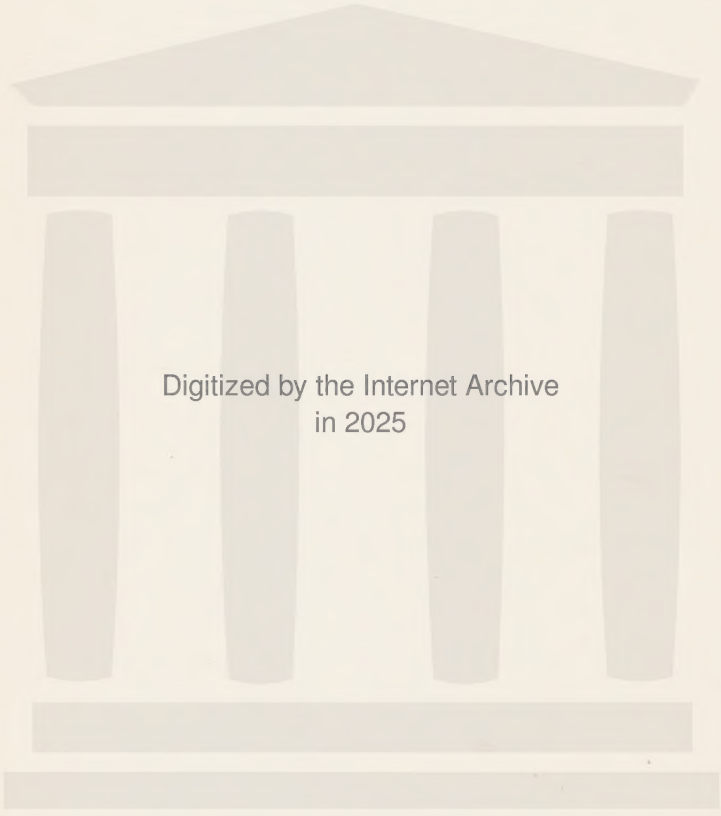
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XLI

NUMBER 1, JANUARY 1948

The Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. XVII.21) . . . *Colin H. Roberts* 1

The Kline of Sarapis . . . . . *Herbert C. Youtie* 9

The Story of Jonah on a Magical Amulet . . *Campbell Bonner* 31

Studies and Documents . . . . . *Edgar R. Smothers* 39

The Value and Influence of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History . . . . . *M. L. W. Laistner* 51

Tendentiousness in Patristic Collections . . *Robert P. Casey* 69

NUMBER 2, APRIL 1948

An Introduction to the Mss of the New Testament . . . . . *R. V. G. Tasker* 71

Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body . . . . . *Henry Chadwick* 83

Luther's View of Man in His First Published Work . . . . . *Heinz Bluhm* 103

Jonathan Edwards on the Sense of the Heart . . . *Perry Miller* 123

The Consecration of Faustina the Elder and Her Daughter . . . . . *Harold Mattingly* 147

NUMBER 3, JULY 1948

Cults of Thessalonica (Macedonia III) . . . . *Charles Edson* 153

Watts in America . . . . . *Robert Stevenson* 205

Neotera . . . . . *Campbell Bonner* / *Arthur Darby Nock* 213

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER 1948

Keres and Lemures . . . . . *Herbert J. Rose* 217

The "Divine Hero" Christology in the New Testament . . . . . *Wilfred L. Knox* 229

The Abbé Lamennais on Freedom . . . . . *Frederick E. Ellis* 251

Pliny and the Christians . . . . . *Robert M. Grant* 273

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Bluhm, Heinz	Luther's View of Man in His First Published Work	103
Bonner, Campbell and Arthur Darby Nock	Neotera	213
Bonner, Campbell	The Story of Jonah on a Magical Amulet	31
Casey, Robert P.	Tendentiousness in Patristic Collections	69
Chadwick, Henry	Origen, Celsus and the Resurrection of the Body	83
Edson, Charles	Cults of Thessalonica (Macedonia III)	153
Ellis, Frederick E.	The Abbé Lamennais on Freedom	251
Grant, Robert M.	Pliny and the Christians	273
Knox, Wilfred L.	The "Divine Hero" Christology in the New Testament	229
Laistner, M. L. W.	The Value and Influence of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History	51
Mattingly, Harold	The Consecration of Faustina the Elder and Her Daughter	147
Miller, Perry	Jonathan Edwards on the Sense of the Heart	123
Nock, Arthur Darby and Campbell Bonner	Neotera	213
Roberts, Colin H.	The Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. XVII.21)	1
Rose, Herbert J.	Keres and Lemures	217
Smothers, Edgar R.	Studies and Documents	39
Stevenson, Robert	Watts in America	205
Tasker, R. V. G.	An Introduction to the Mss of the New Testament	71
Youtie, Herbert C.	The *Kline* of Sarapis	9

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW
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KERES AND LEMURES

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IT IS well-nigh an article of faith, repeated from one manual to another, that at the end of the third day of the Anthesteria at Athens, the Chytroi, the Athenians used to say θύραζε κῆρες, οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια, and that this meant "go away, ghosts, the Anthesteria are over." It is the more interesting because, if κῆρες means "ghosts" here, it is the only passage in all literature where it does so; and also because this is far from being the only account of the saying, be it an old liturgical formula or not, that has come down to us. In what seems the better tradition of Zenobios the paroemiographer [1] we have Κᾶρες, which probably goes back to Didymos and through him to some older author still, it may be Demon, i.e., to early Hellenistic times. It is accompanied by a silly, pseudo-historical explanation, clearly coined to suit the occasion, that in old days a part of Attica was held by Karians, who were allowed to come into Athens for the festival and then told to go away when it was over. A later MS. tradition, still in Zenobios, says that "some" said κῆρες, but offers no explanation. Photios in his lexicon and Suidas copying him quote the saying in both forms, but this time with a different explanation of Κᾶρες; it means "Karian slaves" and bids them go about their work (presumably in the fields) now that the festival, in which they were allowed to share, is at an end. As to κῆρες, it alludes, says Photios or rather his authority, to the belief that ghosts went about the city during the Anthesteria. It would seem [2] that both forms of the saying are ancient, and since alpha and eta were never at any period of Greek pronounced nearly enough alike for one to be mistaken for the other, and neither looks like the other in any known form of

[1] References (the passage in Zenobios is iv, 33) in R. Ganszyniec in Eranos, xlv, 102 sqq.; see the whole article, of which this is partly a criticism.

[2] So Nilsson in Eranos, xv, 185: "schon die Alten müssen das Sprichwort in doppelter Fassung gekannt und gebraucht haben."

Greek writing, we cannot be dealing with a graphic or auditory mistake, but with a deliberate alteration; in other words, someone emended the saying, whether because he did not understand it or for some other reason. We must therefore begin by asking which explanation makes the better sense; if we decide in favor of the one less readily understood, so much the better, for that would of course be the more likely to be interpolated, whether in Hellenistic times or earlier.

First, I do not think G. H. Mahlow has found many to agree with his ingenious view [3] that both are right and mean the same, because κᾶρες is simply the older form of κῆρες, and both mean "ghosts" here. On such a theory, the formula must then be very old indeed, and the question at once arises how it came by its Ionic-Attic metre, for retention of a primitive long alpha is older than any monuments of either dialect that we possess and would go back to a time when the pronunciation of Ionians and whoever the earliest Greek-speaking inhabitants of Attica may have been was hardly to be distinguished from that of Dorians in one of the most important points. The iambic trimeter on the other hand is of the Ionians and their Attic imitators, and cannot be traced further back than Archilochos.

Let us then begin with κᾶρες. I am not interested to deny either that slaves took part in this as in some other festivals, or that they may somewhere and sometime have been referred to generally as Karians, because some of them were of that nation, though proof of this is lacking; Karians appear in one well-known proverb, ἐν Καρὶ κινδυνεύειν,[4] *fiat experimentum in corpore uili*, as cheap lives easily spared, which might indeed mean the lives of slaves but is as likely to signify those of mercenary soldiers,[5] less valued than citizens and so more suitable for a forlorn hope. They also, with the Cretans and the Kappadokians, make up the τρία κάππα κάκιστα.[6] Nor do I suppose it impossible that slaves, let into a

[3] This at all events seems to be implied in his Neue Wege durch die griechische Sprache und Dichtung (Berlin and Leipzig 1926), 335. He had predecessors, see Ganszyniec, op. cit. 106, note 2.

[4] Eur., Cyclops 654, then in several authors of the fifth and fourth centuries, see LSJ under Κάρ.

[5] "Karian" means "mercenary, auxiliary," Archilochos, fgt. 40 Diehl.

[6] Suidas, s.u. κάππα.

house in the country to take part in a family feast (like Klytaimestra's household in Aeschylus),[7] would be sent out again to get on with the field-work once the festival was over. But it is to be noticed that both the explanations we have of these alleged Karians in the proverbial, or ritual, verse represent the formula being used in the city, not the country, and the natural place for a town-slave to do his work would surely be rather indoors than out of doors. "Out of doors," incidentally, is what *θύραζε* properly signifies, and it is straining its meaning to understand it as a command to quit the town, a point which Ganszyniec very properly makes.[8] We find therefore that if we read Κᾶρες we are met with a mass of difficulties, perhaps not sufficient to prove that this cannot be the original form of the saying, but enough at all events to make it doubtful if it really is so.

Let us now look at the rival reading and see if it stands in any better case. "Out of the house, *keres*, it is no longer the Anthesteria." If this is really what the Athenians said, then during the Anthesteria, or some part of its three days, there were uncanny creatures about, whether they were ghosts or something else, whose presence was tolerated only while the festival lasted. We have no great difficulty in determining what these creatures, or at all events some of them, were in Athenian belief.[9] Photios tells us that the Choes was a day of ill-luck, *μιαρὰ ἡμέρα, dies religiosus*. It was the second day of the festival and saw a curious ceremony, in which the guests at a public feast, and probably private ones also, brought each his own *chus*, or wine-pitcher, sat each at a separate table and vied with one another in drinking up their wine, the first to finish being given a prize. It could be a jolly affair enough, to judge by the end of Aristophanes' Acharnians, yet the feast was got through in silence, and this, together with the avoidance of the usual fellowship of shared table and shared mixing-bowl, suggests very strongly that the atmosphere was uncanny; indeed the Athenians themselves had a story that it all arose from the strained and uncomfortable circumstances caused by the presence, with a claim on their hospitality, of Orestes while he was

[7] Aesch., Aga. 1035–6.

[8] Op. cit., 106 note 1.

[9] The handiest collection of literary and other materials for the Anthesteria is in L. Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin, 1932), 93 sqq.

yet unpurified from the blood of his mother.[10] And Photios [11] gives us good reasons for such a background of gloom and uncertainty; on that day it was supposed that the ghosts of the dead came back to earth, and therefore people chewed buckthorn, which is a laxative, and smeared their houses or house-doors with pitch. These precautions, at least the former, began early in the morning, and their intention is pretty plain. The laxative is a precaution against any evil thing which may be swallowed or otherwise get into the body; the pitch will either catch the visitants like so many flies, as Frazer supposes,[12] or repel them with its unwelcome odor, as Deubner suggests.[13] On the last day of the Anthesteria, the Chytroi, we are told in so many words that there was an offering which gave the day its name; for then there was cooked a *panspermia*, or mixture of all manner of edible seeds, in χύτροι, which seems to be the ritual name for pots, the common word being the feminine, χύτραι. No human being ate of this, and it was regarded as a sacrifice to Dionysos and Hermes, of whom both have connections with the underworld and we may strongly suspect that the former is an intruder.[14] It is a very likely conjecture that originally the *panspermia* was rather food for the dead than a sacrifice to any god. It remains to ask, to what dead?

One of the best points made by Ganszyniec [15] is that we have in all this ritual nothing which suggests the normal tendance of the family ghosts. "Nous savons positivement" he says, "qu'on portait les offrandes et le vin au tombeau, c.-à.-d. qu'on n'invitait pas les morts chez soi dans la famille, et que, comme les morts recevaient la part de la nourriture, de boissons et de fleurs sur leur tombeau qui leur était due, on les devait croire satisfaits et ne pas

[10] See Eur., I.T. 947 sqq.; Ar., Ach. 1002 sqq., 1085 sqq., with the scholiast on the former passage; Plut., Moral. 643a; Athenaios 437c,d, quoting Phanodemos.

[11] Photios s.uu. μιαρὰ ἡμέρα, ῥάμνος.

[12] GB[3] ix, 153.

[13] Deubner, op. cit. 112.

[14] Schol. Rav. on Ar., Ach. 1076, citing Theopompos and Didymos. The scholion is confused and absurdly says that the offering was made on the Choes and that this and the Chytroi were celebrated the same day, but the gist of the information from the two older authors may be accepted. Theopompos says nothing about Dionysos, but mentions only Hermes Chthonios; Didymos very likely added the former on his own responsibility. For evidence that χύτρος is a ritual word, see Deubner, loc. cit., note 11.

[15] Op. cit. 112.

supposer qu'ils viendraient encore à la maison pour un second régal." I entirely agree, and believe that to suppose the Chytroi a feast of *all* souls is to misconceive it. On that festival the souls of the dead return, as we have seen; but the normal dead, those who have been decently buried, stay in their tombs, if they have not departed to another world (antiquity found, and indeed humanity generally finds, no difficulty in believing both at once). They do not prowl around the houses or streets of a town, or about the country roads. That is the conduct of ghosts who either have no tombs to stay in or no food and drink if they do stay in them. That the unburied dead formed a class by themselves was a fixed belief from Homer,[16] and doubtless from much earlier than Homer, onwards; but the buried dead fell into two classes, those who had and those who had not surviving kin who could and would attend to their wants. The warning of Orestes to his dead father, who has been duly buried, is enough to illustrate this:[17]

οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι δαῖτες ἔννομοι βροτῶν
κτιζοίατ', εἰ δὲ μή, παρ' εὐδείπνοις ἔσῃ
ἄτιμος ἐμπύροισι κνισωτοῖς χθονός.

"For so (viz., if you hear and help me) shall the customary feasts from men be set before you, but if not, when the others are well dined you shall be left without share, what time the earth smells the savour of burnt sacrifices."

If we ask what such hungry ghosts, buried or not, did to get themselves some scanty subsistence, the answer is to be found in a well-known fragment of Euripides.[18] Stheneboia, still in love with Bellerophon, despite his repulse of her advances, believes that he has been killed on his desperate adventures abroad and does what she can to comfort his ghost:

πεσὸν δέ νιν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερός,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐδᾷ, τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ.

"No crumb that falls from her hand does she overlook, but at once says, 'For the stranger from Corinth.' "

[16] Ψ 71 sqq.; later examples, Greek and Latin, are too numerous to mention.
[17] Aesch., Cho. 483–85.
[18] Frag. 664 Nauck (ed. 2), from Athenaios 427e, who gives the context.

She is at table and wants Bellerophon to solace himself with the broken meats; clearly she dare not make him a cenotaph and celebrate normal soul-feasts there, for she had represented him to her husband as a ruffianly assailant of her chastity, and so would cause infinite scandal by being so tender to his memory. The floor of the dining-room was the hunting-ground of such wretched outcasts of the other world in Rome also, as we know from the famous passage in Pliny,[19] and so it is in several other countries, according to beliefs of later date than the classical epoch in either Greece or Italy. Such unwelcome intrusions probably might occur at any time, but at certain seasons it was supposed, for reasons which we cannot quite fathom, that they were particularly likely. One of these times, in many parts of the world, is spring, and Anthesterion is a spring month. Granted that these visitations do take place in unusually large numbers, prudence bids that countermeasures be resorted to. Rome waited till early summer (Lemuria, May 9, 11, 13) to do so; but ancient Italians seem to have had but little fear of the dead, so perhaps could tolerate ghostly beggars longer than most people.[20] Athens, as I believe, got to work earlier, somewhere about our February, which, as Rome agreed, was a good time for purifications in general, hence its name.

For we have one piece of positive evidence that it was the unhouselled dead with whom the Anthesteria dealt. In the scholiast already quoted in note 14 we have the aetiological myth, preserved in the quotation from Theopompos, of the ritual of the Chytroi. "Those who survived the Deluge," he tells us, "boiled a potfull of all kinds of seeds (*panspermia*) . . . and this the said survivors did to win the favor of Hermes for the dead also (i.e., as well as for themselves)." The rite of that day, then, was traced to a performance intended to benefit those who had been drowned in Deukalion's flood. Athens was interested in that ancient event,

[19] Pliny, N.H. XXVIII, 27. The chief discussions, with parallels from various countries, are in Samter, Familienfeste der Griechen u. Römer, especially 110; X. F. M. G. Wolters, Notes on Antique Folklore (Amsterdam 1935), 96 sqq. That both go on to make the stock blunder of confusing these invisible snappers up of unconsidered trifles with the highly respectable Lares is a matter which need not be discussed here; see my article in Univ. of Calif. Pubs. in Class. Phil., xii (1941), 89 sqq.

[20] See especially Ovid, Fast. V 419 sqq., with Frazer's notes, to which add the references in the last note.

seeing that in the precinct of Olympian Zeus there was a cleft in the ground still shown in Roman times as the identical drain-hole by which the waters finally ebbed away.[21] But this does not tell us why Theopompos or anyone else should introduce it at this point. The facts to be explained are the cooking of the seeds in the pot and the tradition that ghosts were about on that day. Ghosts are a sufficiently common phenomenon, at least in ordinary ancient belief, to make it unnecessary to introduce a world-wide catastrophe to supply them; the rite to be accounted for is local, and a local disaster such as a plague should be enough. I therefore suppose that the historian had in mind the fact which I postulate, that it was the unburied or at least untended dead for whom the good will of Hermes Chthonios was sought by these hypothetical contemporaries of Deukalion, in other words that the Chytroi was the Athenian equivalent, not of the Roman Parentalia but of the Lemuria. Once a year measures were taken to give these spiritual vagabonds at least a little relief, which done they were got rid of with all convenient speed.

After this roundabout excursus, let us see if we can make better sense out of the mysterious κῆρες, on the assumption that it is the correct reading, or rather the correct original form of the saying, or formula, be it sacral or not. How does it come about that in this one solitary instance the word κήρ is used to mean, or at least applied to, a ghost?

Oftener, indeed much oftener, than not, a Ker or the Keres is or are the bringer(s) of death. This hardly needs illustration; the most famous passage is in the noble speech of Sarpedon to Glaukos,[22] and instances in and later than Homer are to be counted literally by scores if not hundreds. They are so numerous that we can trace to a certain extent the decline and fall of the belief in these unchancy creatures; Tragedy does not very often mention them and the Hellenistic period seldom gives us anything new, suggestive of a living and therefore changing idea, but mostly contents itself with repeating the old formulae.[23] But they do not

[21] Pausanias i, 18, 7.

[22] M 326. The most convenient collection of references is that given by L. Malten in RE, Supp. IV, cols. 883–900, on which I draw largely, without accepting all his conclusions.

[23] Malten, 890.

always kill. They may bring pollution,[24] or at least the evil influences which do so may be compared to them. Their evil effects may stop short of death but produce grave illness,[25] whence it is a short step to use the word metaphorically of diseases injuring plants;[26] or they cause old age,[27] and it is they who "nurture" man, according to the pessimistic Hesiod,[28] or at least "nourish the wealth of his bitter cares," in the less gloomy view of Pindar.[29] Finally, they may produce that quasi-death, blindess.[30] Too much should not be made of a humorous passage in Theognis [31] about the two *keres* which attend on drinking; as he explains, one is thirst ("der Dämon, Durst genannt") and the other drunkenness; but it does go to show that *keres* can cause harm short of death.

All these shades of meaning are well enough attested; what is lacking is a parallel to the alleged use of the word to mean "ghost," for that no one has yet produced, the formula being illustrated by ethnological examples which show clearly enough that "go away, ghosts" is a proper thing to say when anything of the nature of a soul-feast is over, but not that that was what the Athenians actually did say.[32] That the *keres* actually had been originally ghosts is a modern hypothesis, on the shoulders of which a subsidiary postulate has been piled, namely that the Athenians knew this ancient (pre-Homeric) meaning.[33] It is a natural result of a stage of anthropological research now past, when no one had got further

[24] Plat., Legg. 937d 6–8, but note his language: *τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν* (the good things of life) *οἷον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἳ καταμιαίνουσίν τε καὶ καταρρυπαίνουσιν αὐτά*. Similarly "Linos" ap. Stob., Flor. V, 22 (iii p. 29 Hense), recommends a purification for getting rid of *keres* which prey on a man's morals, not his life.

[25] Soph., Phil. 42.

[26] Theophr., de caus. plant. V, 10, 4. Pliny, N.H. XVII, 216 sqq., uses *morbi* and similar words to represent the *κῆρας* of his Greek authority; in the Orphic Lithica the stone called *lychnis* (ruby?) is invited to ward off "hail and (other) *keres* which walk the countryside" from the operator's land.

[27] Mimnermos, fgt. 2,6 Diehl.

[28] *Κηριτρεφίων ἀνθρώπων*, W.D. 418, where the sense is probably that man is born to (fall ill or meet with accidents and so) die.

[29] Pindar, fgt. 277 Schroeder, 289 Bowra.

[30] [Hdt.], Vit. Hom. 14, p. 201 Allen.

[31] Theognis, 837 sq.

[32] Malten op. cit., 892 sqq.

[33] E. Rohde, Psyche I (4th. and subsequent eds.), 239: " 'Hinaus, ihr Keren, die Anthesterien sind zu Ende,' rief man den Seelchen zu, wobei man bemerkenswerther Weise ihnen den uralten Namen gab, dessen ersten Sinn schon Homer vergessen hat, nicht aber attische Volkssprache."

back in the history of religion than Tylor and it was generally supposed that ghosts were the earliest recoverable supernatural beings.[34]

I therefore support vigorously an opinion of Nilsson's which, under the present difficulties of getting even the most important books disentangled from the spell of red tape which enchains them on the Continent, I know only through a quotation: "Der Spruch . . . zeigt nur, dass die Griechen die Seelen nicht ebenso, wie es die Slaven taten, höflich behandelten, sondern ihnen, wenn sie sie wegjagten, das zutreffende Prädikat Keren beilegten, das auch den Erinyen zukam, und angesichts der griechischen Vorstellung von der Boshaftigkeit der wiederkehrenden Toten verständlich war."[35] This, I think, is essentially right and needs only a little comment and enlargement.

To begin with, then, I agree that by calling these visitants *keres* the Athenians were not calling them ghosts but more nearly bogies or even devils. We have seen that the *keres* invariably do mischief of some kind, often killing and always hurting. Therefore they are about as near to being devils as any native Greek figure ever came; they are never and nowhere welcome and if it is necessary to have them about, they must be got rid of as soon as possible. Hence it seems quite likely that other unwelcome supernatural beings would on occasion be called *keres*, as indeed we know that some of them sometimes were: Nilsson adduces the Erinyes, his authority being pseudo-Aeschylus, Septem 1055, a passage of uncertain date, but later than the Antigone of Sophokles, which is imitated in it, and earlier than the official collection of the dramatists made by Lykurgos, about the middle of the fourth century. A genuine Aeschylean instance of the word in a transferred sense is Aga. 206–7, where Agamemnon says that either of the alternatives open to him, sacrifice of his daughter or abandonment of his expedition, is a *βαρεῖα κήρ*, a quite untranslatable phrase, though something of the flavor of it, in a totally different atmosphere, is conveyed when a modern says he is in a devil of a difficulty; the

[34] E. B. Tylor's Primitive Culture came out first in 1872, the first part of Psyche for the first time in 1890.

[35] Geschichte d. griechischen Religion (1941), I, 209, cited by Ganszyniec, op. cit. 102, note 1.

high poetry of one language is not seldom the slang of another. The unfortunate king was not merely faced with the toilsome task, for a man always shown as irresolute and lacking in moral courage, of finally making up his mind, but tried as no purely human difficulty would try him, by a viciously persistent supernatural test; or so it seemed to him. Kalchas may say that it is Artemis who sends the trial, but to a layman with no pretence of seercraft it is simply a *ker*, a hateful visitant from beyond our world.

Where I do not agree with the illustrious scholar I have quoted is when he speaks generically of the "Boshaftigkeit der wiederkehrenden Toten." I see little or no evidence that Greeks were inclined to regard ghosts in general with such fear and dislike as that would imply. Indeed, still to take evidence from Aeschylus, in times of danger they often appealed to the ghosts of their own dead for help, witness the long scene in the Choephoroe in which Orestes and Elektra invoke their father, and the thoroughly Greek behavior of the chorus in the Persians, who call up the spirit of Dareios to advise them. It is true they are afraid to speak to him when he does appear, but as he himself says, that is because of their δέος παλαιόν, their old awe of him as their king, not as a ghost.[36] Hero-cult again is nothing but the invocation and propitiation of certain ghosts, and it is only a late piece of theologizing[37] which makes a hero into a dangerous being, incapable of doing anything better than to refrain from inflicting injury.

But there are several classes of ghosts which are dreaded and disliked by most, if not all human beings who believe in ghosts at all,[38] and among these the unburied rank high,[39] perhaps because they really have something serious of which to complain, the gross impiety committed by leaving their remains in a world to which they do not belong.[40] If the buried dead are neglected, even in

[36] Aesch., Pers. 703, cf. 696.

[37] Babrius, 63. But even in late times, no such idea was universally held, see for instance Philostratos' Heroicus, in which the august ghosts are friendly, even chatty, when respectfully approached by quite humble persons still in the flesh.

[38] Examples in Frazer, The Fear of the Dead, II, 72, 93, 109 and elsewhere.

[39] See, e.g., Frazer, op. cit. III, 260 sqq.

[40] This is the worse part of the sin of Kreon in Soph., Antigone, to judge by the emphasis Teiresias lays on it, Ant. 998 sqq. The disturbances which may be caused in the lower world by the unauthorized entrance of the living Antigone there are, naturally, not the primary concern of a diviner whose art is concerned with the world of living men.

comparatively trifling ways, they are apt to worry their neglectful kin; Melissa troubled Periandros till he sent her abundance of finery so that she might go properly clad among the other ghosts,[41] and Eukrates' wife came back to remind him that he had forgotten to burn one of her slippers with her.[42] What wholesale harm might result from wide-spread neglect is sketched by Ovid;[43] when the Romans were too busy fighting to keep up the ritual of the Parentalia,

> non impune fuit; nam dicitur omine ab isto
> Roma suburbanis incaluisse rogis.

If there were no surviving kin, or if they had gone to foreign parts where the ghosts could not find them, these dangerous creatures might presumably trouble anybody, desperately seeking for some one who would attend to their wants, and that would be very dangerous, for death is contagious and one ghost may go about to make many.[44] If this was so, and the indications are that antiquity generally, including Athens, believed it, we can well understand both why a time was set apart for appeasing such uncanny things and also why the time was firmly cut short by a formal warning to the visitants to begone. Finally, one can see why they are addressed as *keres*; the formula means, not exactly "go away, ghosts," but "go away, you dangerous beings." We need not suppose that the formula was originally an iambic trimeter, which, so far as our scanty remains of ancient ritual show, is not a measure having any close connection with prayers or hymns. It may very well have started as prose (*θύραζε κῆρες* exactly corresponding to the Roman *manes exite*), until someone noticed that it made the beginning of an iambic line and finished the verse by adding *οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια*.[45]

Thus we have found that the reading *κῆρες* makes sense, and good and appropriate sense. If this is so, how did *Κᾶρες* ever get a place in the tradition? I suggest that it is an ancient joke, a *σκῶμμα παρὰ γράμμα*, or half-pun brought about by deliberately

[41] Herodotos V, 92*η* 2–3.
[42] Lucian, Philopseudes 54–55.
[43] Ovid, Fast. II, 549–50.
[44] See, e.g., Frazer, op. cit. II, 112; cf. the passage of Ovid cited in the last note.
[45] The variant *ἔνι* for *ἔτι*, since it makes no sense at all, must be a scribal error and nothing else.

mispronouncing one letter. It is generally a futile task to try to find the point of a jest so ancient, but one may imagine occasions; for instance, some one (quite possibly in a comedy) may have said that it was not so much hungry ghosts that it would be well to get rid of as hungry foreigners, whether slaves or not, and so that it would make better sense to say "go away, foreigners" than "go away, spirits of evil."

THE "DIVINE HERO" CHRISTOLOGY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT *

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In the Christology of the New Testament we are faced with two distinct methods of expressing the belief of the Church as to the person of the historical Jesus of Nazareth. Of the belief that He was merely a great human teacher we find no trace;[1] the Church would never have come into being, if it had not believed that He had risen from the dead. As we all know, the Christology that prevailed was that which saw in Him the Incarnation of the divine Word or Wisdom, which was at once the divine and living pattern of the cosmos, the agent by which the cosmos was created, and the divine mind immanent in the cosmos and more particularly in the mind of man. It was inevitable that this cosmogony should triumph in the end, since it was the only one which could, with whatever difficulty, be formally reconciled with Jewish monotheism; moreover it transferred the Lord from the realm of eschatology, which meant nothing to the Greek convert, into the sphere of cosmogony which was one of the central problems of the semi-Gnostic philosophy and theology of the hellenistic age, as we meet it in the Corpus Hermeticum.

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[1] Even if we suppose that the Ebionites represent a very primitive type of Jewish Christianity, their belief is not that Jesus was a mere man, but that He was a man on whom Christ descended at His baptism, agreeing with Cerinthus (Irenaeus, 1 21f., Harvey); cf. Epiph. Panar. 1.30.3 and the Gospel of the Hebrews quoted by Jerome on Is. 11.2 (James Apocr. N.T. 5). To others He is Adam or the aeon manifested in Adam reappearing in person in Jesus; for this view cf. Clem. Hom. 3.20, Clem. Rec. 1.45. Schmidt, Studien zu den Ps. Klem. dates this element of the pseudo-Clementines to about 200 A.D., but with a long history behind it, agreeing with Harnack. Cf., however, Rehm in Z.N.W. 37 (1938) 77ff. who holds that Epiphanius' Ebionite doctrines are drawn from the Clementines; in any case his introduction of the legendary founder Ebion, who held that Christ was a mere man, cannot be pressed, since there is no reason to believe that such a founder ever existed.

But the interest of the New Testament is always religious rather than philosophical. As the late Professor Burkitt once remarked to me, "Of course if you believed that Jesus had risen from the dead, you had to fit Him into your cosmogony somehow." But you were interested in proving that He had risen from the dead, and that He was supreme over all created things in the cosmos; the philosophy of the creative Logos meant as little to St. Paul and St. John as it did to Philo. It was simply a convenient method of expressing Christology (or Judaism) in terms which the ordinary man with a smattering of popular philosophy might understand and accept.

But there was quite a different Christology, in which Jesus is regarded as the savior who comes down from heaven to earth to save mankind. He is of celestial origin, yet he accepts a human nature, in which he can serve mankind and undergo temptation and finally suffer the death of the Cross. It is through His death and resurrection that He attains to His perfection and wins His exaltation to heaven amid the adoration of all the powers that rule the cosmos, and finally receives a new name or title to mark His supremacy in the sphere of man's redemption and inaugurate a new age, just as He, in His capacity of the Wisdom-Logos, inaugurated the old. The main passages in which the scheme is set out are Ro. 1.3f., Phil. 2.6ff., Col. 1.15–20, Heb. 2.10 and 18 and 5.7–10.

Now one of these passages is the opening of St. Paul's apologia to his own nation, in which he would be peculiarly careful to avoid language which would alienate his readers. He might lapse in the course of his letter; he would hardly do so in the third verse. In fact he has been pretty successful in avoiding anything that might give offence; the Wisdom-Christology of 1 Corinthians and Colossians does not appear in Romans; in the same way, though the death of Christ as bringing salvation to all men is central in the thought of the Epistle, the "scandal of the Cross" is avoided; the word *σταυρός* does not occur except for the *συνεσταυρώθη* of 6.6.[2] It would seem that he expected his readers to

[2] Yet in the much shorter Galatians *σταυρός* and its derivatives occur seven times, to which should be added the *κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου* of 3.13. On the other hand *ἀποθνήσκω* is used eight times of Christ in Ro. as against once in Gal.

be highly critical and avoided the "scandal," whereas in Galatians he has no such desire to conciliate his opponents and rams it down their throats.

In view of this it seems unthinkable that he is deliberately expressing his belief as to the person of Christ in terms borrowed from pagan religion. It would seem that he can assume that his readers will regard it as compatible with Jewish orthodoxy to describe Jesus the Messiah as the son of God, born of the seed of David according to the flesh, yet constituted to be the son of God by His resurrection.[3] There is no allusion to suffering as the means by which He must make good His claim; but this is assumed as an integral part of the Christian tradition. His final constitution as son of God is the work of the Spirit of God, which consecrates Him as a result of His resurrection.[4]

While, however, it seems inconceivable that Paul was borrowing, either deliberately or unconsciously, from the ideas of pagan religion, it is nonetheless true that he had in fact described Jesus in terms which represented Him in very much the same light as some of the most popular cult-figures of the hellenistic world, an active deity who was partly human and partly divine. Such beings were sons of Zeus or some other great Olympian deity. But they had lived on earth and earned their immortality by the services they had rendered to mankind.[5] The most prominent

[3] It is not an "adoptionist" Christology, as Lietzmann rightly points out, (Hdb. z. N.T. ad loc.), for He was the son of God before he was born in the flesh, just as He was "in the form of God" in Phil. 2.6, and "rich" before He became "poor" in 2 Cor. 8.9. Str.-B. ad loc. regard the disappearance of "son of God" as a description of the Messiah from rabbinical literature as due to polemical motives. Moore (Judaism 2.344) rightly remarks that the "pre-existence" of the Messiah has been given an exaggerated importance; but the imaginative language of apocalyptic writers on this point would acquire an entirely new significance when the historical Jesus was recognized as the Messiah by the Church. The use of the title "son of God" in 4 Esdras seems well-established; in 1 Enoch 105.2 we probably have a Christian interpolation; Dalman's suspicion is confirmed by its absence from the Greek (cf. Campbell Bonner, The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek 4). The difficulty was the "pre-existence" not of the Messiah but of Jesus, cf. Justin, Dial. 48 (267 b).

[4] Theodoret's view, quoted by Lietzmann ad loc., is undoubtedly right, but is causal rather than temporal; for *ὁρισθέντος* = "constituted" cf. Meleager of Gadara, Anth. Pal. 12.158 *σὲ γὰρ θεὸν ὥρισε δαίμων.*

[5] The best doctrinal statement on deities of this class and their relation to the Olympians, as understood by hellenistic philosophy, is perhaps Philo, Leg. ad Gaium 78–114 (from a pagan source, cf. Hellenistic Elements 48). Cf. Chrysippus, ap. Aet. Plac. 1.6, Plutarch, Pelopidas 16 (286) with the same distinction between the

figures in this class were Heracles, Asclepius (who was, however, normally confined pretty strictly to his purely medical duties) and Dionysus: and of these Heracles was the most prominent in the tradition of popular philosophy. Since the time of Antisthenes Cynics had regarded him as the type of the missionary philosopher who goes up and down the world, saving men from vice and ignorance. His exploits naturally had to be allegorized in the interests of virtue and decency; but with this simple precaution he could become the patron deity of the philosopher.[6] His life of service was ended by a tragic death; but the apparent tragedy was reversed by his exaltation to the rank of the Olympian gods. His death might indeed be regarded as his full attainment to perfection, for in the flames of his pyre he had been cleansed from all that was mortal in him.

It is, I hope, unnecessary for me to say that I am not repeating what I can only regard as the fantastic theory that the synoptic story has been influenced at any material point by the legend of Heracles.[7] I can see no trace of any such influence in the Gospels, any more than I can in Romans.[8] What I suggest is that the

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immortals and those who attained to divinity by service (Heracles and Dionysus). Cf. also Celsus quoted by Orig., c. Cels. 3.22 and 42 and 7.53. The care with which Origen rubs in the sins of such figures is perhaps worth noting.

[6] For the earlier development of this conception cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Euripides, Heracles 1.334f. For the later cf. preceding note and Epictetus, Diss. 2.16.44, 3.24.13 (for which cf. n. 53 below) and 36.32 Zeno, ap. Tatian adv. Gr. 14 (Schwartz, 3.27), Lucian, Deor. Dial. 13, Bis Acc. 20, Cyn. 13. (For Heracles as patron of Cynics cf. Lucian, Conv. 16, Fug. 23f., Peregr. 24 and 33.) Cf. further Dio Chrys., Or 2 (Dind. 1.38.13), 5 (1.94.15), and 30 (1.338.13) Aristides, Or. 40 (Keil 2.325f.); for a comic protest cf. Athenaeus, Deipn. 12.6 (512e). As the type of the *σπουδαῖος* he appears in the collection of commonplaces which Philo has preserved in order to incorporate into it his account of the Essenes, Q.O.P.L. 98f.; for the tract cf. Schürer, G.J.V. 3.675f. Cf. Nock in J.R.S. XXXVII (1947) 106: — "(Heracles) had a hagiography if not a Gospel."

[7] For the view cf. Pfister, A.R.W. XXXIV (1937) 42ff. I have nothing to add to Rose's refutation in H.T.R. XXXI (1938) 2.113ff.

[8] Since Heracles was venerated as the *ἀρχηγός* of Tarsus, it might be urged that Paul was influenced by this "theology"; at least he would be more likely to have heard of him than of Mithras as has sometimes been suggested. But he would merely have regarded him as a dead man, deified at the suggestion of demons, and regarded as their patron by some schools of philosophers; he might have known enough of his adventures to refute the idea. But it is highly doubtful whether he had ever spent any considerable part of his life at Tarsus (cf. Hellenistic Elements 30). It was belief that Jesus had risen from the dead to become the Lord of the Church, that made it necessary to regard him as of divine origin, not the need to make him a rival of Heracles. (For Heracles = Sandon at Tarsus cf.

language of the christological passages which I have mentioned show a close affinity with the descriptions and panegyrics of these figures of the pagan world, of whom Heracles was the most prominent.[9] Often indeed we shall find our closest parallels in the panegyrics of deified rulers and emperors; but some of these at least may have been applied to Heracles before they were passed on to emperors. In any case Heracles will supply most of our parallels and this is only natural in view of his popularity in the Stoic and Cynic circles which stood nearest to Judaism and Christianity; [10] in spite of all condemnations of pagan mythology [11] we find an affinity between Jewish-Christian and pagan language which can hardly be due to chance. Whether in any given instance the resemblance is due to pure coincidence or to more or less unconscious reminiscence or to deliberate borrowing, must be judged on each individual case, if it can be judged at all. Even if we suspect deliberate borrowing, the motive may have been not to assimilate Jesus to pagan saviors but to preach the Gospel on the principle of St. Paul's speech at Athens "what therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him we declare unto you." Naturally there are also striking differences. The most obvious is that while such deities have a divine parentage and an "infancy-legend" there is no serious belief in their pre-existence as divine beings before their appearance in the world;[12] it is of interest to note that the

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P.W.K. Ia. 2265 s.v. If St. Paul had heard of him it would have been in his hellenized form.)

[9] For the resemblances (and differences) between Christian and pagan ideas cf. Nock, Conversion c. 13; cf. also Wendland in Z.N.W. 1904.350 for the σωτήρ concept as one of the forms which made Jesus intelligible to the pagan world.

[10] For the whole subject cf. Wendland, Die hell-röm. Kultur, 75ff., and Norden, Agnostos Theos 125ff. with an undue emphasis on the oriental element except insofar as this is purely Jewish. For Rom. 1.18ff. as a deliberate parody of a synagogue tirade with a Cynic demolition of it cf. Hellenistic Elements 31ff. For a striking parallel cf. 1 Cor. 9.1 and Epict. Diss. 3.22.48. For Philo's connections with Stoicism and Cynicism cf. Bréhier, Les Idées Phil. et Rel. de Philon d'Alexandrie 261ff.

[11] Cf. n. 5 above for Philo; for his general attitude to pagan mythology cf. De Gig. 58, De Post. Cain, 52, De Sacr. Ab. et Cain, 76 De Op. Mund. 1f.

[12] Diodorus Siculus, 1.9.1ff. gives an account of the divine origin and infancy-legend of Heracles, drawn apparently from the encomium of Matris of Thebes (for Diodorus' sources for Heracles cf. Schwartz in P.W.K. 5.673ff.; for the encomium of Matris, cf. Hobein, ib. 14.2296; it may have been a panegyric delivered at a feast of Heracles). The stories of the birth of Alexander are given by Plutarch, Alex. 2. The Nectanebos legend (Ps. Callisth. ed. Kroll 5) made him the son of the last Pharaoh and therefore of Amon-Re, cf. Tarn, Alexander the Great 2.354.

infancy-narratives of Matthew and Luke show no concern with the pre-existence of Jesus. But this belief in the case of Jesus was the inevitable result of the conception of Him as a pre-existing Messiah, who was also the divine Wisdom-Logos,[13] a belief which was difficult to harmonize with a genuine human birth or indeed with a genuine humanity at all. So the writer of Hebrews after opening with the emphatic statement that Jesus really is the Wisdom-Logos of Pauline Christology, and as such superior to the angels, leaves the whole of this conception on one side and passes over to His character as the Messianic Son of Man, in which He was made lower than the angels in order that all things might be made subject to Him, and that through death He might attain to the fullness of His glory, which consists in being made perfect Himself and bringing many of His brethren to the same perfection. (I would not presume to offer a more exact rendering of a passage which may be corrupt; the general meaning seems to be perfectly clear.) The writer thus avoids the difficulty of harmonizing the two conceptions and passes over to an exposition of the person of Christ in terms of a savior from heaven who saves mankind by suffering.

Yet even here we can find parallels in pagan thought. In the

Alexander's own attitude is perhaps best expressed by the Jewish interpolator of Ps. Callisth (on whom cf. Pfister in Sitzb. d. Heid. Akad. (1914) xi, 32) to the effect that *οὐκ ἤθελε Νεκτανεβῶ παῖς λογίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν, ἐκ θεῶν δέ*; the passage is of interest as showing a Jewish understanding of the hellenistic point of view which we should hardly expect. Suetonius' chapters dealing with the birth of Julius Caesar are missing, and there seems no evidence for an infancy-legend; he was of course of divine origin through his descent from Venus; for a more exalted view cf. the inscription of Ephesus (Syll. 347 = 760.7) *τὸν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα*. For Augustus cf. Suet., Augustus 94; among other points he is the child of Apollo (from Asclepius of Mende).

For the whole theme cf. Weber, Der Prophet u. sein Gott 95ff. He traces the belief in a deliverer of divine origin who is nonetheless human to the primitive belief in a quasi-divine ancestor, revived by later generations out of the longing for a deliverer who will inaugurate a new world-age. (Ib. 119ff. with material for Zoroaster, Buddha, Alexander, Augustus, etc). But Heracles' miraculous origin and infancy-legends appear to be part of the original myth, and can hardly be related to this scheme. On the other hand the child who is to introduce the new age in Virgil, Ecl. 4.49 is *cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum*, but there is no suggestion of a miraculous birth.

[13] For the identification of Jesus with the Wisdom-Logos, cf. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles 113ff.

Stoic system of allegorization Heracles was too important a figure to be entirely omitted, yet it was hard to see how a human being who had been raised to Olympian dignity by his virtues, could ever be one of the manifestations of the divine logos in the universe. Cleanthes was sufficiently interested in consistency to invoke the ancient belief that there were two Heracles, one the god, the other the hero, son of Amphitryon and Alcmena; the god was the logos which supplied strength and cohesion to the cosmos, while the hero was a man who on account of his virtues was counted worthy to have the same name.[14] Later Stoic writers, however, were less careful and "Heracles" is treated as a divine logos with no suggestion that he is in any way distinct from the hero of Greek mythology;[15] how precisely they tried to reconcile the difficulty does not appear.

Thus we need not be surprised to find in the New Testament the apparent inconsistency that Jesus can be of divine origin, and yet that he must make good his claim to divinity by a life of suffering and service; for the inconsistency was one with which the hellenistic world was familiar. We have an interesting "theology" of Heracles in Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Evander had learned from Themis that it was fated that Heracles being the son of Zeus and Alcmena should on account of his virtue change his

[14] For the two Heracles cf. Herodotus 2.44 where Egyptian and Tyrian deities are equated with Heracles and used to prove that the god and the hero were different. For Cleanthes cf. v. Arnim, Stoic. vett. Frr. 1.514, p. 115 from Cornutus' Epidrome 31. Cf. for this Hellenistic Elements 39; see also p. 49, n. 1. Macrobius, Sat. 1.20.6 has the same distinction: Hercules is the sun, the son of Alcmena was one of several heroes who were honored by being allowed to bear the name. But Macrobius belongs to a sophisticated age.

[15] Thus the well-informed account of Stoic allegorization in Clem., Hom. 6.16 makes him the symbol of the *γνήσιος καὶ φιλόσοφος νοῦς* which goes about the world taming the hearts of men. For *Νοῦς* here cf. Corp. Herm. 1.6 and 22, where it is both a creative power and the divine element in man which raises him from the material to the spiritual order. (Cf. Festugière's notes ad loc.) So in Philo, Leg. Alleg. 3.80ff. Melchisedech is at once the kingly as against the tyrannical mind and the cosmic Logos.

For Seneca Heracles is normally the hero-deliverer cf. De Benef. 1.13, where he is contrasted with Alexander from the hostile point of view of the Stoic republican tradition (cf. Tarn. op. cit. 2.69). In Dial. 2.2.1. he is regarded as one of the *sapientes*. But in De Benef. 4.8.1 Jupiter is *stator* because all things stand through him; he is also Liber as parent of all things and Hercules because he is invincible and returns to pure fire at the end of each world-age; he is Mercury because with him is reason, number, order and knowledge. Cf. also Plut., De Is. et Os. 40 (367c).

nature and become immortal.[16] Normally the divine origin and the attainment of divinity are accepted as a matter of course.[17] From his divine birth Heracles goes about the world as the benefactor of mankind, thus earning his claim to immortality; it might indeed be doubted whether he went about alone with the traditional club and lion-skin or at the head of a victorious army, thus qualifying himself to be the prototype of his descendant Alexander and the embodiment of the Stoic ideal of kingship.[18] In either case he must earn his godhead by the service of men, even though he was of divine origin and had a birth surrounded by miracles. Similarly Jesus in these passages is of divine origin, but must earn his godhead, just as those who believe in Him receive the power to become the sons of God, though it is hard to see how they become sons if they are so already.[19] Roman writers might regard the whole conception of deified man with a refreshing cynicism until the cult of the living Emperor was established in Rome; the hellenistic mind, accustomed to the easy deification of the successors of Alexander found no difficulty in the conception of a deified man.[20]

[16] Antt. Rom. 1.40.

[17] Cf. the hymn described in Virgil, Aen. 8.287. Salve vera Iovis proles decus addite divis and Lucian, Deor. Conc. 6, in addition to the references in n. 12 above.

[18] For the career of Heracles cf. Diod. Sic., 4.8.1 (from Matris), 4.38.5 (from a mythographical handbook), 4.53.7 (from the Argonaut-romance of Dionysius of Scytobrachium). For Alexander cf. Tarn, op. cit. 1.2 and 124; for the element of truth in the stories of Alexander's imitation of Heracles, ib. 2.51, and for the legend 2.56. For the hellenistic ideal of kingship cf. Kärst, Gesch. d. Hellenismus 1.500; cf. Dio Chrys., Or. 1 (Dind. 1.18.30) where Trajan is told that Heracles is a savior because he overthrew tyrants as he still does; but he is *βοηθός σοι καὶ φύλαξ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως ἂν τυγχάνῃς βασιλεύων*; cf. also Plut., De Fort. vel Virt. Alex. 2.11 (341e), with an interesting parallel to Lk. 2.46.

For a comic attack on the view of Heracles as a conquering monarch cf. Athenaeus quoted in n. 6 above. As a parallel to Alexander in his relation to Heracles cf. Diod. Sic., 4.19.2; Alesia was built by Heracles as a colony for his troops and remained impregnable until taken by Julius Caesar. It seems that it needs a god to capture a city built by a god.

[19] Jno. 1.13; or does this refer to their new birth in baptism? The copyist responsible for the v.l *ὃς ἐγεννήθη* clearly did not understand it in this sense and tried to avoid the difficulty, which the first-century Christian, used to pagan ideas, would not feel. Cf. 1 Jno. 3.1, where "we are called" and "are" the sons of God, for which we have parallels in Epict., Diss. 2.16.44; since Heracles cared more for the will of God than for anything else he was believed to be and was the son of Zeus; cf. Dio Chrys., 4 (Dind. 1.68.28ff) and Plutarch, De Reg. et Imp. Apophth. (Alex. 7. 180a) for an "adoptionist" explanation.

[20] Cf. Scaevola (apparently quoted from Varro) ap. Aug. De Civ. Dei 4.27; one of the dangers of philosophical theology is that it teaches the public that Aescu-

It is, I would suggest, from this point of view that we should approach the consideration of such a passage as Phil. 2.6ff. The main conception, as in Ro. 1.3f., is that Jesus, though by nature within the sphere of the divine being, did not regard his position as a piece of rare good fortune and insist on his equality with God.[21] It is perhaps implied that in this respect he is sharply contrasted to Adam whose attempt to improve on his position as a purely spiritual being created in God's image led to his fall into the material world.[22] The result of the full obedience of Jesus even to the death of the cross was His exaltation and His receiving of the name which is above every name.

As we know, the religions of the Middle East from Egypt to India have been ransacked for parallels to this passage; I hope it will not seem unduly prosaic, if I point out that we have a far closer parallel than those usually quoted in the popular philosophy of the hellenistic age. Plutarch tells us that young men nowadays are more modest than they used to be; "they do not grasp for themselves (*ἁρπάζουσιν*) the name of philosophy and the reputation of being philosophers." [23] And elsewhere we are told that Alexander did not overrun Asia like a brigand, or with the intention of seizing it and overturning it as a prize (*ἅρπαγμα*) or the spoils of good fortune, as Hannibal did later in Italy.[24] On the contrary, since he desired to make all things on earth subject to one logos and one politeia, and to make all mankind into a single people, he fashioned (*ἐσχημάτιζεν*) himself accordingly. "Had not the daimon who sent the soul of Alexander to earth called him back so soon, one law would have held sway over all men, and they would have looked to one system of justice as to the common light." The resemblances in the earlier part of this passage are almost startling; it is perhaps hardly likely that St. Paul would have known of such a view of Alexander; but he

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lapius, Castor and Pollux and Hercules cannot be gods, since they were men; ib. 3.4 for Varro's view of the utility of such a belief and the account of his views by the interpolator of Servius on Virg., Aen. 8.275. For the meaning (or lack of meaning) in the deifications of the Diadochi cf. Ferguson in C.A.H. VII 14ff.

[21] For the meaning of *ἁρπαγμός* cf. Jaeger in Hermes 50 (1915) 537ff.

[22] Cf. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles 83f.

[23] De Prof. in Virt. 10 (Mor. 81c.).

[24] De Fort. vel Virt. Alex. 1.8 (330d).

may well have heard such terms applied to Heracles [25] as one who had endeavored, and perhaps in his own time succeeded in establishing on earth that new age for which the world had been longing before the battle of Actium. St. Paul indeed does not here mention the new age at this point; we shall return to it later.

That it was by humbling Himself to the death of the Cross that Jesus obtained His exaltation was of course the core of the Pauline Gospel, which to the Greeks was foolishness, and we must not expect to find a parallel to it in Gentile writings; but it was after death that Heracles obtained his deification, and indeed it could be held that it was because his friends could find nothing when they came to collect his bones from the pyre that they inferred that he had been translated to heaven.[26] The giving of the new name at which every knee shall bow is again one of the points for which we can find close parallels between the language of the New Testament and pagan religion. The aretalogy of Imouthes-Asclepius has often been quoted as showing the kind of source on which St. Paul is drawing; "every Greek tongue shall recount thy history and every Greek shall honour Imouthes the son of Phthah." [27] Undoubtedly there is a striking similarity; but it is not so striking as the resemblance of St. Paul's language to Isaiah 45.23 "unto me every knee shall bow, by me every tongue shall swear." Whatever the name may be that is given to Jesus,[28]

[25] Cf. ib. 11(341a) where Alexander is represented as imitating Heracles, and 6(329a) where Alexander is praised for realizing in practice the ideal of Zeno of uniting all mankind in one state with one *βίος* and one *κόσμος*. Clearly we cannot suppose a direct connection; but it is hard to resist the conclusion that St. Paul and Plutarch are both drawing on a commonplace of popular philosophic rhetoric, which originally may well have referred to Heracles.

[26] Diod. Sic., 4.38.5.

[27] Pap. Ox. XI 1381.198ff. For the view that Phil. 2.10 is to be explained from the religious background of the magical papyri cf. Reitzenstein, Hell. Myst. Rel. (3) 357ff.

[28] Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu 65ff. seems to me entirely right in insisting that the "name" is Jesus not *κύριος* (so Lietzmann in Hdb. z.n.T. ad loc.). In the first place *κύριος* is not really a name at all unless we take it in its LXX sense as the equivalent of the tetragrammaton. But it seems most unlikely that St. Paul would simply have equated Jesus with the God of the O.T., who remains for him the Father. On the other hand the illogicality of supposing that Jesus received His name at His exaltation, when He had in fact held it all along, would not trouble a hellenistic writer, least of all one who held St. Paul's doctrine of predestination. Grammatically it seems quite impossible to suppose that the name which is above every name is different from the name at which every knee must bow, or that the latter name is not Jesus.

there was a wide range of Jewish thought which would suggest the conception of the giving of the new name as the mark of the conferring of a new status. The changes of name in Genesis were a favorite target for anti-semitic propaganda and must therefore be defended at all costs by the counter-propaganda of the synagogue,[29] while the two names of God in the O.T. and the identification of the wisdom-logos with "the name of God" [30] would keep the importance of the name in the mind of one who like Paul was interested in presenting the Gospel in terms of popular philosophy. The mystery-religions and other cults were engaged in the same task; and though the resemblances between St. Paul and Philo on the one hand and these cults on the other might tempt us to suppose that there lies behind the first two some syncretistic Jewish mystery-cult, whose literature has influenced the speculations of the Corpus Hermeticum, and so passed into the magical papyri, we shall be wise to renounce these romantic speculations.[31] The similarities rest on the fact that the various cults were accommodating themselves to a general scheme of popular philosophy, and employing its language in their religious and liturgical usage; especially we must remember that hellenistic Judaism was always receiving from its surroundings a coloring of popular religious language, and contributing to the general amalgam from the LXX and the prayers of the hellenistic synagogue; there was not yet the "iron curtain" that separated Judaism from Gentile religious thought after the fall of Jerusalem.[32]

[29] Cf. Philo, De Mut. Nom. 60ff. and Hellenistic Elements 35.

[30] Philo, De Conf. Ling. 62 and 146.

[31] For a quite overwhelming argument against the view that the Corpus Hermeticum is a collection of the sacred books of some mystery-sect with close affinities with hellenistic Judaism cf. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste 1.81ff. As against the view that Philo has anything to do with a Jewish "mystery-religion" cf. Wolfson, Philo 1.44ff.

[32] A specimen of this relation is the address to "the first-born God" (the sun) in P.M.G. 1.197ff, which reappears with slight variations and a remarkable enlargement at 4.1169ff. The latter papyrus is the older; ("Diocletian at latest" as against 4/5th century according to Preisendanz). In 4 the god is not first-born; he created the world and sustains it, and he possesses a holy name that is magnified by the angels; he is the creator of angels and decans who stand by him and lift up the heaven *καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπεμαρτύρησέ σου τῇ σοφίᾳ, ὅ ἐστιν 'Ιαώ . . . καὶ εἶπέν σε σθένειν ὅσον καὶ αὐτὸς σθένει.* The papyrus goes on to invoke the name of 100 letters *τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος μέχρις τοῦ βάθους τῆς γῆς*; the 100 that follow have no obvious Jewish character except perhaps Abraoth. We then have, in Pap. 4 only, *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐν τῷ χρυσῷ πετάλῳ, ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος διηνεκῶς παρακάεται ὁ*

Thus we have no need to suppose that St. Paul is consciously imitating pagan usage. But even here his words would have a familiar ring to Gentile hearers. Heracles was originally named Alcaeus; he was called Heracles when he strangled the serpents sent to destroy him by Hera; other men, we are told, are given names by their parents, to Heracles alone did his own virtue give a name.[33] Moreover the giving and accepting of a name played its part in the process by which Augustus had attained to the principate and so to divinity.[34] The acclamations with which large bodies of men greeted their rulers as divine was part of the recognized process of deification; the *vox populi* was also the *vox dei*. There was of course all the difference in the world between pagan and Jewish-Christian ideas of divinity, but to the Gentile world the thought of apotheosis by the acclamation of such exalted beings as we find in Phil. 2.10 would be entirely familiar.[35] So would the whole conception that the exaltation of

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μέγας θεός, ὁ φανεὶς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ Ἱερουσαλὼμ μαρμαίρων. Here follows another list of 100 letters, consisting of the vowels only and ending in Iao. In the main part there has been little that is specifically Jewish, except perhaps for the hanging of the element of fire from the waters (cf. below n. 41), Wisdom might be Jewish, but presumably we are dealing with Osiris, Isis and Horus; for Isis as Wisdom, cf. Hellenistic Elements 54, as the aeon Plut., De Is. et Os. 9.354c. The concluding section has been added, presumably before the fall of Jerusalem; the writer knows of the cosmic significance of the tetragrammaton on the High Priest's mitre (Philo, Vit. Moys. 2(3).132) and of the candlestick (Q.R.D.H., 221ff.), but he confuses the latter, which was put out and relighted daily with the perpetual fire on the altar. (De Spec. Leg. 1.285). This suggests not a Jew but a Gentile drawing on Jewish liturgical language or memories of synagogue sermons. This section is clearly an addiiton; was it removed from Pap. 1 because the compiler knew that Iao was no longer interested in Jerusalem, or has Pap. 1 preserved an older version? Cf. Dieterich, Kl. Schr. 29 for a Jewish supplement to an Orphic invocation in P.M.G., 4.1455ff. It should be noted that there is no suggestion that the name of 100 letters is conferred at the time of the invocation.

[33] Diod. Sic., 4.10.1, following Matris.

[34] Cf. Nicolas of Damascus (F.G.H., 90. F. 130.55), where Octavian, when greeted by the army as Caesar *ἐπ' ἐυφήμῳ κλήδονι δέχεται τοὔνομά τε καὶ τὴν ὑιοθεσίαν ἣ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχὴ ἀγαθῶν ἦν.* Cf. Appian, B.C. 38.

[35] For Phil. 2.11 as essentially an "acclamation" cf. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ 171ff. But he seems to underrate the significance of acclamations as only "tending to apotheosis" in Jewish-Christian circles. The courtiers of Herod in Acts 12.22 and Antt. 19.345 may have included Jews as he holds against Juster; if so, they were very lax Jews; St. Luke and Josephus regard his death as a punishment for accepting the apotheosis implied. Acclamations were familiar to Jews no less than to pagans, but the Pauline *κύριος* here implies an apotheosis only possible because Jesus was already "lord" of the Church. Peterson's additional note p. 317 that *κύριος* does not imply divinity, though *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων* does, ignores the whole

Jesus carried with it authority over things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth. As early as Virgil we find the thought of cosmic portents ushering in a new world-age: in one passage they are associated with Heracles' descent into Hades; [36] the theme recurs, possibly owing to Virgil's influence, in Seneca's drama.[37] You will not expect me to attempt a solution of the problems of Virgil's eschatology and the sources from which his ideas are drawn;[38] I will merely say that they appear to me to represent that coloring of Western ideas by infiltrations from the East which was current in the first century B.C. It would of course be possible to hold that St. Paul knew of such a conception of Heracles; but this would involve us in the assumption that Seneca is following a hellenistic model, not adapting Euripides, and for this I know of no evidence. It would involve the further assumption that St. Paul knew anything of Greek literature beyond a collection of extracts designed as propaganda for Judaism. All we can say is that the infiltration of Oriental ideas into the West had made it possible for Seneca to describe Heracles in language closely resembling the Messianic language in which St. Paul describes Jesus' attainment to His position as Lord of the Church. We shall, however, be wise if we do not try to read into the language of Phil. 2.10 a developed belief in the doctrine of the descent of the crucified Christ into Hades.[39] We are deal-

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setting; naturally a king or emperor could be addressed as κύριος in acclamations, since the word need not imply divinity, except where it was given that specific connotation as in Mart. Polyc. 8.2 (Cf. Förster in T.W.z.N.T. s. voc. for the absence of any specific sense of divinity in the title as applied to the Emperor in the 1st century A.D.

[36] For the cosmic collapse which will usher in the new world-age cf. Virgil, Ecl. 4.50ff. and the account of Hercules and Cacus Aen. 8.241ff., for which cf. Kroll, Gott u. Hölle 389.

[37] Hercules Oetaeus 1106ff. on which see Kroll, op. cit., 400ff.

[38] The best treatment seems to me that of Rose, The Eclogues of Vergil (The Sather Lectures, 1942) 162ff.

[39] As against Kroll's interpretation of Ro. 10.7 cf. my note in St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles 102; to the references add Philo Q.O.P.L. 6, where Deut. 30.14 is dragged in to suppport the commonplace which goes back at least as far as Aristotle (Fr. 52, Rose, 62.7). Ro. 14.9 simply means that Christ is Lord of those who die now; 1 Cor. 15.55 is an adaptation of Is. 25.8 and Hosea 13.14; if the harrowing of hell is implied in the personification of death, the borrowing goes back to Jewish religion of the period of the prophecies. For Eph. 4.8 (if Pauline) cf. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles 194. Early Christian thought is essentially fluid; in Lk. 23.43 Jesus at His death goes to Paradise, the abode of

ing with a sacral formula, which has passed into popular rhetoric, though the abyss of Sheol has replaced the sea of the original, as it often does in Jewish and occasionally in pagan writers. It expresses the ubiquity of a God, in Egypt of Osiris as the sun-god; it can be applied to any other deity, the Heracles of mythology being especially suited; it can also be applied to the deified ruler, at any rate after his death, and it is of course possible that St. Paul had heard language of this kind applied to Augustus or one of his successors.[40] All that we have is the use of a common stock of ideas, ultimately religious, but adopted by rhetoric and popular philosophy, and carried over into the liturgical and homiletic language of the hellenistic world, including that of the Church.[41]

In one important respect the active saviors of the Heracles type

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the righteous dead. Mt. 27.52 does imply a descent, but is not at home with the theme; the bodies are released at the moment of the death on the Cross, but cannot rise and appear to many till they are reunited to their souls on the third day. 1 Pet. 3.18 and 4.6 seems to be dragging the idea in for its own sake; it has no relevance to the main argument.

[40] Cf. Corp. Herm. 16.5 (of the sun) and Nock's note ad loc. in Festugière's edition; Plutarch describes the difficulty of maintaining the doctrine when men were ceasing to believe in a subterranean Hades (De Is. et Os. 78,382e). For the Jewish confusion of the sea and Sheol cf. Ro. 10.6f. We meet the sacral formula as applied to the sea in the dedication to Augustus at Philae (Kaibel, 978), Καίσαρι ποντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι, Ζανὶ τῷ ἐκ Ζανὸς πάτρος ἐλευθερίῳ . . . δεσπότᾳ Εὐρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίας ἄστρῳ ἀπάσης (cf. Norden, Die Geb. des Kindes 161, n. 3), but Virgil, Georg. 1.24 leaves it open to doubt whether Octavius will choose earth, sea or heaven as the sphere of his divinity, hoping piously that he will resist any temptation to choose the infernal regions. But the sacral formula has no doubt passed into the sphere of rhetoric, cf. Sasse in T.W.z.n.T.s.v. καταχθόνιος.

[41] Cf. the Jewish-Christian prayers in 1 Clem. 59.3ff. (for their Jewish character see Lietzmann, Gesch. d. alt. Kirche 209 and Harnack, Sitzb. d. Berl. Acad. 1926.220f., but he fails to see how much is hellenistic Jewish); a comparison of 1 Clem. 60.1 and Ps. Arist. de Mundo 6.2ff. is instructive. Still more marked is the influence of popular philosophy in the Jewish-Christian liturgy of Const. Apost. 7.34.1ff. (see Bousset in Gött. Gel. Nachr. (1935) 435ff.). It is instructive to trace the infiltration of the thought of God as all-seeing from Homer, Il. 3.277, where the sun is the arch scandal-monger ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει. As late as Zach. 4.10 the Hebrew O.T. is still writing of the eyes of the Lord as "running through the whole earth." But in the Greek books God regularly sees all things (2 and 3 Macc., Greek Esther 15.5 (Swete)); in Job 34.23 the Lord ἐφορᾷ πάντα but there is nothing about this in the Hebrew. (Zach. 9.1 is a mistranslation). The prayer for vengeance (Jewish) from Athens (before 88 B.C.) appeals to God as παντεπόπτης (Deissmann, L.v.O 311ff., where further parallels are given). Epict., Diss. 2.8.14 alludes to the Homeric phrase; in Philo, De Jos. 265 Joseph quotes it without acknowledgement in comforting his brethren; cf. Or. Sib. Fr. 1.4 and 8 (Theoph., ad Autol. 2.36). For pagan usage cf. the Mandulis inscription (Nock, H.T.R.XXVII. 1.63), Vettius Valens, 1.4 and 331.20. (Kroll), Audollent, Defix.

offer no parallel; they do not descend through the planetary spheres on their way to earth, nor is there any stress on their triumphant return through them after their death. This is natural enough. As we have seen, there was no belief in their existence before they appeared on earth, while in the case of the old hero-gods there was a legend which precluded any belief in their pre-existence, or in their descent from heaven, for they were children of a god and a human parent. Moreover their cult was established before the general interest in astrology had been established as part of the mental climate of the hellenistic age. Yet even here something could be done. The Jewish rabbis found no difficulty in fitting the Torah into the conventional astrological scheme as the power which could save the faithful Jew from the fate which was decreed by the stars, and St. Paul could substitute Jesus for the Torah.[42] Seneca could go so far as to make Hercules complain that the monsters which he has slain have been translated to the zodiac, so that they may bar his way to the reward he has deserved, and we find other attempts to represent his dominion as extending to the celestial regions, quite apart from his later character as a solar deity.[43] Even the Emperor could at his death attain to a place in the firmament.[44] But here we are dealing with an accepted view of the cosmos into which the author of the new

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Tabellae 271.36, where a heathen imitating the LXX describes the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob by the title.

For a similar conflation cf. P.M.G. 4.1172, where the sun as creator has "hung" the element of fire from water; for this cf. Corp. Herm. 1.5 where "air" follows "fire" or "spirit" to the firmament and "seems to be suspended" from it. The papyrus substitutes water for ether under Jewish influence; but "hanging" does not seem to come from the Jewish tradition; it appears in Job 26.7, but here the point is that God has hung the world on nothing. (For the whole cf. Festugière, ad loc. and Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks 123 and 222.)

For philosophy in the magical papyri cf. the scrap of pure Stoicism in P.M.G. 7.530 and "truth" and "faith" in 4.1014; for these passages cf. Kroll, De Oraculis Chaldaeis 27 and 69.

For the sun as the supreme God cf. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ 80, who points out that the pun on *Deus Sol* as Deus *Solus* is as old as Cicero; see also Nock in J.R.S. XXXVII (1947) 114ff.

[42] Cf. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles 108 and 220.

[43] Herc. Oet. 65ff., cf. Kroll, op. cit., 404. See also Aristides, Or. 40 (Keil 2.325ff.) for Heracles as ruler under Zeus of all things below the moon, (2): so in 8 *οὐδὲ τῶν κάτω γῆς ἠμέλησεν οὐδὲ τῶν μέχρι οὐρανοῦ* (cf. n. 39 above) and 15 where his adventure with Atlas is a symbol of him as *κύριος ὢν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς συμμετρίαν ἄγειν*. For Heracles as a solar deity, see Note at end.

[44] Cf. n. 40 above and Lucan, Phars. 1.45ff.

age, whether the hero of Greek legend, the Jewish-Christian Messiah, or the deified Emperor must somehow be fitted.

On the other hand Christianity, as the lawful heir of Jewish monotheism could not be content with this sort of easy deification. If the Church was right in worshipping Jesus, it could only be because in some sense He was from all eternity "in the form of God." The solution was found in the equation of Him with the Wisdom-Logos, and in this capacity He was Himself the creator of the powers that ruled the heavens and the fate of man and first in order of time. Yet at the same time, in Col. 1.18, He is the redeemer through whom man is reconciled to God and by whom the sins of man are done away.[45] Thus He is first in both orders, that of creation and that of redemption. The hellenistic reader would find both thoughts familiar, and certainly would not worry himself about the difficulty of seeing in Jesus both the creator and the savior; the neatness of the parallelism would be as convincing to him as pages of argument. He would be prepared to accept the conception of Him as the head and mind of the cosmic body of the Church; for Seneca was ready to write to Nero in this capacity.[46] The one thing that would be incomprehensible to him, if he were not already a convert, was the one thing which I have already noticed, that Jesus established that peace, which was the essential mark of the new age in the history of the cosmos, by His death on the Cross.[46a]

[45] We may compare the *sceleris vestigia nostri* of Virgil, Ecl. 4.13, cf. 31. Here we have only traces, for the prophet foresees in Pollio's consulate the beginning of a change for the better. (Cf. Rose, op. cit. 211.)

[46] Cf. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, 162.

[46a] For world-peace as the mark of the new age (the ideal goes back ultimately to Alexander), cf. Tarn, op. cit. 2.434ff., Virgil, Ecl. 4.17 and the remarkable picture of the new age in Philo, Leg. ad G. 8ff. (This section like much of the rest of the tract is from a pagan source, note the references to altars in every city (12) and the age of Cronos (13).) For Augustus as the inaugurator of the Messianic age of peace cf. the inscription of Ephesus referred to in n. 40 above. For Seneca cf. Kroll, loc. cit., n. 37 above. The emphatic *ὑμᾶς* of Col. 1.21 (addressed to Gentile readers) suggests that St. Paul goes back in the last resort to the ideals of Alexander, Jews and Gentiles being substituted for Greeks and barbarians. The fear of death, release from which is a mark of the Messianic age in Heb. 2.15, does not appear in the pagan literature as a mark of the new age; immortality is implied in the Zoroastrian theology as recorded in Plutarch, De Is. et Os. 467,370b, but normally any hope of immortality is drawn from a quite different philosophical tradition from that of the new age; deliverance from the fear of death is achieved by arguments which show that there is no reason to fear it.

The Christology of Hebrews is identical with the Pauline. The Son is in 1.3 described in terms only applicable to the pre-existent Wisdom of God. Yet it was fitting that God in bringing many sons to glory should make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings. (2.10.) His power to help those who are tempted rests on the fact that He Himself has also suffered the force of temptation (3.18); as our High Priest He has been tempted at all points like as we are, yet without sin; in the days of His flesh he prayed in His agony that He might be delivered from death.[47] Yet though He was the Son, he must learn obedience by suffering; it is perhaps significant that the author introduces a choice bit of classical erudition at this point.[48] Having thus been made perfect He obtained the right to bring others to eternal salvation in virtue of His new title of a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.

For the conception of τελείωσις here a host of interpretations have been offered. The most natural explanation, however, is that which derives it from the Jewish conception of the martyr as one who is made perfect by his sufferings in 4 Maccabees.[49] The Jewish tradition has colored the Lucan account of the Passion; Jesus before the Sanhedrin is the martyr replying to the persecutor.[50] But the Jewish tradition goes back to an earlier pagan one, preserved by Philo,[51] which traces the courage of the philoso-

[47] It is immaterial for our present purposes how we translate the very difficult ending of 5.7 for which cf. Windisch, ad loc. My own feeling is that the only satisfactory sense is to take the clause εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας as covering the whole of 8 and meaning that having been heard as a result of His dutiful observance of God's will He must first learn obedience by suffering and having been made perfect in this way become the means of the salvation of others and obtain the title of a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek. It must be remembered that the writer's purpose is to explain what the title means and that he is a highly discursive writer; but I must admit that I doubt whether it is really possible Greek.

[48] For the ἔμαθεν . . . ἔπαθεν assonance cf. the commentaries ad loc.

[49] 4 Macc. 7.15, where Eleazar is made perfect by the faithful seal of death.

[50] Cf. Hellenistic Elements 11.

[51] Q.O.P.L. 98ff. (Heracles, Anaxarchus, Zeno of Elea and cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 2.52; note that Calanus appears here; he occurs in Q.O.P.L. 93.) At 118 we are told of the heroism of the people of Xanthus who committed suicide rather than surrender to Brutus "imitating the constancy of Heracles." As a specimen of Philo's methods we may note that Eur. Fr. 687 is quoted as showing the good man's freedom at Q.O.P.L. 25; it is repeated at 99 as from "Heracles in Euripides." It may be noted that while quotations from Euripides and allusions to him are not uncommon in Philo, it is only in the latter part of Q.O.P.L. (92ff.) that his name

pher under torture back to Heracles, the head of the pagan roll of the upholders of justice and liberty. Though indeed his death was not a martyrdom, but more or less an accident due to a misunderstanding, yet on the funeral pyre he underwent a process of purification by which he put off the mortal and material and so was able, bearing the divine element in himself pure and undefiled, to fly up to the gods.[52] Here we have the conception of "perfection" in its normal hellenistic form; St. Paul could use this conception of liberation from the material in describing the redemptive work of Christ. For it was because the Torah applied to man in his material state and kept him in subjection to the lords of the planetary spheres that He was able to "put them off" and to nail the Torah to the Cross on which He died to the flesh.[53] In Philo we find the thought that perfection consists in liberation from the material, that this perfection is obtained in full only at death; it is a commonplace that it consists in emancipation from the material body,[54] and those who seek perfection need a guide, who must already have attained to perfection himself.[55] It is possible that there is here a lingering recollection of the philosophical use of language ultimately drawn from the mysteries; but the emphasis is on the attainment to that perfection which can only be achieved by a life of detachment from earthly things in obedience to the will of God, crowned if necessary by the martyr's death. It is worth noting that δεήσεις καὶ ἱκετηρίας ap-

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is mentioned; Sophocles is mentioned at 19. But all this tract except the account of the Essenes appears to come from pagan sources (cf. above n. 8).

[52] Lucian, Hermot. 7.(747). Lucian is of course attacking the Stoic-Cynic attitude of life, but there is no necessity to suppose that he is misrepresenting them in making them use the argument. Cf. Aristides, Or. 40 (Keil, 2.325ff.) 11 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπῆλθεν (Ἡρακλῆς) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καθαρθεὶς ὃν λέγεται πρόπον.

[53] Col. 2.15, cf. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles 169.

[54] Leg. Alleg. 3.45. When Aaron dies, that is when he is made perfect, he goes up to Hur, that is to light. In De Migr. Abr. 214 perfection is attained in this life by complete emancipation from the material, cf. De Mut. Nom. 85; but for perfection as only attainable at the point of death cf. De Migr. Abr. 139.

[55] De Gig. 54; when Moses has pitched his tent outside the camp and the whole host of bodily things, he can enter the darkness and stay there to be fully initiated; when he is fully initiated he can become a hierophant for others. Here the mystery-language is, as always in Philo, a mere borrowing of philosophical commonplace language, cf. De Somn. 1.164. The best instances in popular philosophy are C.H. 1.26 and 7.2 (in C.H. 13 I suspect Christian influences, cf. Hellenistic Elements 91).

pears to be a recognized term of pagan religion;[56] also that the opening of 2.10 is a well recognized form of hellenistic Jewish argument, reinforced by the regular rhetorical use of the repeated proposition.[57] In 5.10 we have a curious similarity to the process by which Zeus was exalted to the rank of godhead and "given a name" by men in the euhemeristic theology of Diodorus Siculus, though it is hardly correct to say that the exaltation culminates in the giving of a name, since "a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech" is a title rather than a name.[58]

Let me emphasize once again that I am not concerned to maintain that either St. Paul or the writer to the Hebrews was consciously borrowing from pagan forms of thought. At one or two points we notice a considerable verbal similarity, but never enough to prove a direct connection.[59] Naturally the Church in the centuries that followed was concerned to deny that there could be any resemblance, and the task was an easy one. For the earthly career of Jesus was a matter of recent history and there was nothing in it which the Church needed to explain away by the use of allegorism. Yet there were some who felt the resemblance. Justin explains the resemblance between Jesus and Dionysus, Perseus, Heracles and Asclepius by the ingenious view that the demons had heard and misunderstood the prophecies of His coming and so provided spurious imitations in advance.[60]

[56] Cf. the parallels quoted by Windisch on 5.7.

[57] Cf. Windisch, ad loc.

[58] Diod. Sic., 3.61.6. *ἀνθ' ὧν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μετανάστασιν ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ζῆνα διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν αἴτιον γένεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθιδρυθῆναι δ' ἐν τῷ κοσμῳ τῇ τῶν εὖ παθόντων τιμῇ, πάντων προθύμως ἀναγορευόντων θεὸν καὶ κύριον εἰς ἀιῶνα τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου.* When allowance is made for the complete difference of outlook, the similarity is striking. Generally *προσαγορεύω* refers to the giving of a title by an inferior to a superior, as in the *consalutatio* as *imperator* (Plut., Pompey 8.6) or the proclaiming of a king by the people (Plutarch, Aemilius Paulus 8). But Philo, Mund. Op. 148 says that it is right for a ruler to name his subjects (cf. Adam naming the beasts); here he is using the word in the sense of "naming" rather than of proclaiming by a title; but we must not expect too much accuracy of N.T. writers in regard to such usages.

[59] For a remarkable parallel to Jno. 14.18 in the Stoic view of Heracles cf. Hellenistic Elements 79, adding Lucian, Peregr. 5(330) *οἰχήσεται ὀρφάνους ἡμᾶς καταλιπὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα.*

[60] Apol. 1.54(89b), Dial. 69(249d) (omitting Perseus). Cf. Theophilus, ad Autol. 1.13 for Heracles and Dionysus as having risen from the dead. It is to be noted that Justin in Apol. 1.21 (67b) quotes from the stock attack on paganism

Celsus on the other hand asks what right Christians have to believe in Jesus and reject such figures, while Origen replies with the pertinent request for evidence that any of them ever improved the morals of mankind.[61] There was, however, one Christian writer of a rather dubious type, who frankly admitted it. The queer heretic Justin[62] makes Heracles succeed the angel Baruch in order that he may deliver that part of the father Elohim which is imprisoned under the twelve female angels. His labors symbolize the deliverance of the elements of the Father imprisoned in the various nations of the world; he was on the point of success when he was seduced by Omphale. The result was that he failed in his task, and the angel Baruch had to descend upon Jesus. Here the conventional figure of Heracles has been fitted into a mixed pagan and Christian scheme of Gnosticism; clearly Justin saw the resemblance and tried to find room in his scheme for the figure of Heracles as one who might have brought man the gnosis he needed but failed, unless indeed he has inserted Jesus into a pagan scheme centered on Heracles.

I hope you will not think that all this is a highly academic enquiry into matters which can only have an antiquarian interest. The conception of a man of divine origin, who attained to godhead, could not hold its own as against the conception of the incarnation of the Logos in a religion which claimed to be the fulfilment of Hebrew monotheism; for the redeemer, unless he were in some sense also a manifestation of the one divine Logos, must inevitably tend to become a second god. Yet there was always the danger that the historical Jesus would become a purely divine being, whose genuine manhood would fade away into that of a docetic phantom or a divine epiphany. It is the hellenistic conception of the redeemer who attains to his godhead that made it possible for St. Paul and the writer to the Hebrews to insist on the absolute humanity of Jesus, tempted at all points like as we are, yet without sin, and preserved for the Church the faith that

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Ἡρακλέα φυγῇ πόνων ἑαυτὸν πυρὶ δόντα but in Apol. 2.11(49b) quotes Xenophon's account of the choice of Heracles.

[61] Orig., c. Cels. 3.42(1.238). Clement of Alexandria, Protr. 1.30 and 33 is peculiarly vitriolic in his attacks on the character of the legendary Heracles.

[62] Hippolytus, El. 5.27f.

the victory over sin and death was won not by a divine epiphany but by a life of service and suffering unto death, even the death of the Cross.

NOTE.

It would be tempting to see in the resemblances between the sun-god of P.M.G. 4.1169ff. and Phil., 2.9ff. evidence of the influence of the hellenistic conception of Heracles as a solar deity permeating into Christianity. But it seems highly doubtful whether this solar conception of Heracles was at all widely diffused in the hellenistic world at the time of the N.T. We find it in the Orphic hymn to Heracles (Abel XII), and Judaism was interested in "Orpheus" as early as Aristobulus (Eus. Pr. Ev. 13.12), but the Orphic poem quoted by him, which has gone the round of the fathers, is a piece of Stoic theology, not one of the Orphic hymns. Guthrie (Orpheus and Greek Religion 257), would date the hymns "not before the birth of Christ," and locate them at Pergamum; Dieterich, Kl. Schr. 109, would locate them in Egypt, but suggests a continuity with the Bacchic mysteries in Italy in the first half of the second century; but in any case such writings as the hymns would tend to expand, and furnish no evidence as to the date at which Heracles became a sun-god. Pausanias, 8.31.7 describes an image of Helios Soter Heracles at Megalopolis in Arcadia, but Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth 4 8.429 presume this to have been of the hellenistic age. (For the whole question cf. Gruppe in P.W.K. Supp.-B 3.1104ff.)

In any case a far more likely line of contact would be the panegyrics on pagan deities delivered at their festivals. (Hobein, P.W.K. 14.2296 suggests that the encomium of Matris may have been delivered on such an occasion.) Utterances of this kind, mediated perhaps by popular philosophy, might easily find their way into the religious language of the synagogue, and so into that of the Church without any knowledge of their ultimate origin. (For the relation between Orphic literature and philosophy cf. Guthrie, op. cit., 255.) On the other hand they would easily become stereotyped in the worship of the deity concerned and so with the decay of paganism deteriorate into formulae of magic just as the Orphic hymns and the language of Jewish religion did.

THE ABBÉ LAMENNAIS ON FREEDOM

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Many of the basic issues underlying the complex social, political, and religious problems which stirred France during the lifetime of Lamennais can be found in duplicate in this country. Moreover, it is evident that there is a resurgence of an extremely provincial form of nationalism in the United States together with mounting onslaughts against freedom. This makes increasingly relevant to the concrete lives of all of us an examination of the fundamental ideas of a thinker whose discernment of the disjunctions of his culture is formulated in published writings. Because of this as well as his contribution to the development of democracy in France, it is difficult to understand why the writings of Lamennais have been so singularly neglected in this country. Perhaps a contributing factor is that some of his works have been placed upon the Index Prohibitorum Librorum.

Like France, we have persistently sought, first, to provide, often at great cost in life and property, favorable conditions for the maintenance of human dignity and, second, to subordinate material power to rational and humane ends. Lamennais is a kindred spirit who champions the liberties requisite to the healthy growth of democracy; his writings betray a deep awareness of the broader truths and finer perspectives from which vantage-point the problems of democratic freedom must be viewed. Lamennais diagnosed the nature of the social ills of his day and attempted to formulate certain principles which he felt must always guide man's efforts in the persistent task of creating a balanced and free society.

Hugues Félicité Robert de la Mennais, or the Abbé de Lamennais — as he later referred to himself — was born on June 19, 1782 at St. Malo in Brittany. Following the death of his mother in 1789, the lad's education was undertaken by an uncle, Robert des Sandrais, who took the boy to his estate at La Chenaie. At La Chenaie young Lamennais became a rapacious reader and de-

voured without restriction everything available in his uncle's excellent library. His literary interests included Diderot, Voltaire and Rousseau; of the influence of Rousseau one biographer commented, somewhat euphemistically:

> His unwise reading, especially of Jean Jacques Rousseau, seduced his ardent mind and prejudiced him against religion. These prejudices found vent in objections which moved his confessor to postpone indefinitely his First Communion . . . While he succeeded in completing his literary education and acquiring foreign languages, these studies undertaken without teachers or guidance necessarily left gaps in his training, and made him liable to contract dangerous habits of intellectual intolerance. (2, p. 762.)

The violence and cruelty of the French Revolution impressed themselves indelibly upon the sensitive mind of the young man. From his growing interest in the conflicts and turmoil of society, Lamennais became convinced that only in a popular return to the Christian faith would man achieve some measure of true civilization. His thoughts concerning religion in its relation to society were expressed in the essay, Réflexions sur l'état de l'église en France pendant le 18ième siècle et sur sa situation actuelle, which was published anonymously in 1808. The publication of this essay was a turning point in the development of Lamennais' social thinking and was characterized by an intense devotion to orthodox Catholicism and monarchy and a dislike of liberalism and democracy.

In March, 1816, Lamennais was ordained to the priesthood.

During the following year he published the first volume of his Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion, and he shot like a meteor from comparative oblivion to literary fame. The second volume of the Essai appeared in 1820.

The leitmotiv of this work, the revitalization of the Roman Catholic Church through freedom and the moral regeneration of the people through the Church, the concept of popular sovereignty and universal suffrage, was to appear in the newspaper L'Avenir. However, in making his impassioned apology for Catholicism, Lamennais somewhat ambivalently denounced the neutrality of the state in religion, the right of individual judgment in

religious matters, and the validity of rational evidence, a doctrine associated with the name of Descartes. His ardent plea for the necessity of the Catholic Church in society characterized Lamennais as a "dialecticien adroit et vigoureux," and a writer "doué d'une imagination forte et brillante."

Before the publication in 1829 of his work, Des progrès de la révolution et de la guerre contre l'église, Lamennais became increasingly convinced of the necessity for democracy as an effective means of achieving a better social order. This transition in his thinking is clearly shown in the essay of 1829 in which he demanded separation of Church and State, freedom of the press, and endeavored to "Catholicize" the spirit of liberalism with which he was in sympathy.

Lamennais repudiated the State with its decadent monarchy as a champion of human rights and placed his hope in the Roman Catholic Church as the savior of mankind. This transition marks a major phase in the evolution of Lamennais' social philosophy from extreme conservatism to a thorough-going liberalism in religion as well as in politics.

With the collapse of the Bourbon monarchy in 1830, Lamennais strove to protect the Catholic Church from the inflamed reaction of the angry masses who identified it with the abuses and excesses of the crumbled dynasty, and to recall it to its rightful place in the hearts of men.

The collapse of the Bourbon monarchy was but a result of a long and intense social conflict the consequences of which the workingman had felt sorely and bitterly. Enslaved by his machine and by an employer drunk with cupidity and arrogance, the proletariat was exploited in the most inhuman manner. On the eve of the revolution, Lamennais wrote to Count de Senfft:

> The members of the clergy, at least in part, and all the episcopacy look and see not, listen and hear not, buried as they are in old, stupid prejudices. Inseparably joining the cause of religion to the government which oppresses it, they are preparing with all their might a general apostasy, although they can expect nothing but violent persecution if an exasperated liberalism triumphs, and bonds as shameful as they will be heavy if the opposite party wins; there's their profound and noble policy! (1, p. 109.)

Through the cooperation of the clergy and the laity, Lamennais endeavored to make of the Catholic Church an independent power, deriving its strength from its own profound religious resources, unfettered by political alliances. The assertion of such autonomy would remove from the Church the stigma of aiding and abetting selfish interests with which the exploited masses had marked it.

In a courageous attempt to carry out his plan, Lamennais founded the newspaper L'Avenir in 1830. The first issue came from the press on the 16th of October, carrying at its masthead the motto: "Dieu et la liberté." L'Avenir was a unique newspaper in the annals of journalism, for it was the first daily paper to be published in the interests of the Catholic Church. Lamennais' vision of the rôle of the Church in society displayed his wise social consciousness, deep religious feeling and an almost careless disregard for the long tradition of authority which pervades the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

The theme of L'Avenir is described by Lamennais in the following words:

> We thought that inasmuch as all people are aware of social justice through which they may expect to be relieved of intolerable sufferings by the substitution of legitimate liberty for the servitude imposed upon them by the oppressive power of absolute sovereignties, they should find in Christianity support and guidance in attaining their goal without disorder. The evangelical law which reminds men of their native equality and the bond of fraternity which ought to unite them, has contributed much to the abolition of ancient slavery. It is no less favorable to the abolition of modern slavery or political slavery. How cherished and esteemed divine religion would have become to the people if, sympathizing with their woes, it had attempted to assuage them by pouring forth all the treasures of its inexhaustible charity. Or if, in the name of God who recognizes no exceptions among His children, it had blessed all efforts exerted on behalf of the weak and the poor — by far the greatest part of the human family — in order to free them from the tyranny exercised by a few for their own profit in spite of all concepts of justice which are engraved upon the conscience of mankind. It seemed to us that if there were a voice which might recall the world to Catholicism, that was it. (9, p. 174.)

Although the Catholic Church was deeply rooted in the past, Lamennais felt that it was fully capable of adapting itself to the

needs of the times and that in its universality it spoke to every age and offered the inspiration of Christianity to all oppressed and exploited peoples. In the separation of the Church from the contamination of the political order, Christianity, as envisaged by Lamennais, would assert its true spirit which was not opposed to either liberty or democracy.

Hence the doctrine of separation of Church and State was an absolute requirement for the effective amalgamation of religion and liberty. In his first article published in L'Avenir, Lamennais gave earnest and hopeful expression of his thoughts concerning the Catholic Church and liberty. He wrote:

> Time, experience and . . . serious and loyal discussion has begun on both sides toward diminishing prejudices. Already true liberalism . . . realizes that liberty must be equal for all or else it is certain for no one, and that Catholics are entitled to it as much as those who profess other doctrines. After all Catholicism . . . has in itself something noble and generous which no lofty soul can fail to recognize. We do not doubt that some day, solely through the progress of public intelligence which from year to year is freeing itself from the narrow prejudices and sad errors of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, people will come to understand that not only does Catholicism contain nothing that is incompatible with liberty, but in reality is the only solid and durable basis for liberty. . . .[1]

Regarding the question of separation of Church and State, Lamennais sets forth his views powerfully and with unequivocal frankness, challenging the State to demonstrate by positive actions the principle of separatism which alone can guarantee freedom of conscience to Catholics as well as to members of other religious groups:

> There is no longer any state religion; the new Charter has definitely freed all denominations. The same liberty is distinctly guaranteed to them. With what right, then, could the government interfere with Catholicism, order prayers, impose oaths, install bishops or priests, renew, in short, all the bonds which, uniting the clergy with the administration, or rather subjecting the former to the latter, but — to everyone's misfortune — religion in politics and politics in religion? Nevertheless, nothing as yet indicates that the Ministers have become aware of the

[1] L'Avenir, October 16, 1830.

need for effectuating the total separation of Church and State, and of proclaiming, not by words which are often belied by deeds, but by decisive acts, liberty of conscience which Catholics have up to now known only by name.[2]

His unshakable faith in the integrity of the masses of Catholics to resist state interference in matters of conscience, led Lamennais to declare, in inspiring words, the full importance of which man has yet to learn that:

> Truth is all-powerful. What retards its triumph the most is the support which material force tries to give it; it is the appearance of constraint in the essentially free domain of conscience and reason; it is brutal violence which ravishes and profanes the sanctuary of the soul where God alone has the right to enter. No one is answerable to any human power for his faith, and the contrary principle — directly opposed to Catholicism whose foundations it undermines — has never produced whenever it has appeared in the world anything but countless calamities and crimes. It has called forth from Hell the Dukes of Alba and the Henry VIII's.[3]

Reaffirming his faith in free men and calling upon them to resist an alliance between the Church and the secular order, Lamennais penned these significant lines:

> The instinct of nations, directed perhaps by an obscure presentiment of the future which Providence plans for them, demands this total separation of Church and State, a separation which is in accord with the new Constitution and which is implied by the solemnly consecrated principle of freedom of conscience; a separation . . . which alone can extricate the Church and the State from a position equally obnoxious and equally fatal to both of them.
>
> To speak first of the State, in what relationship to the Church can it place itself? Evidently it must either protect it or oppress it: there is no middle ground.
>
> If it protects it, at that very moment it arouses against itself an opposition like that which contributed so powerfully to the overthrow of the Ancien Regime. The same reproaches will be directed against it; it will be the target of the same attacks. Obliged to explain its acts, and to continually justify them, its protests will not be believed or people will pretend not to believe them. Public opinion will rise like

[2] L'Avenir, October 17, 1830.
[3] L'Avenir, October 18, 1830.

the waters of the sea and will sweep away the feeble dikes which would oppose it.

Frightened by this certain danger, will the State oppress the Church? No power today is strong enough to attempt that with any hope of success. Such an attempt would arouse at one and the same time both the immense body of Catholics and all those who, without being Catholics, sincerely desire its liberty.[4]

Lamennais reminds his readers that the effects of establishment of the Church by the State can only result in the most damaging consequences to religion. He says:

Note the inevitable consequences of its enslavement; calculate, if possible, the future results of the prolongation of a situation which has already produced such fatal results: religion administered like the customs-offices, the priesthood degraded, discipline ruined, and teaching oppressed, the Church, in a word, deprived of its necessary independence and finding it every day more difficult to communicate with its Head. Every day it would submit harshly to the caprices of the temporal power, moulded by the latter for its own use, receiving everything from it, its pastors, its laws, its very doctrine; what is that, if it is not death?

Catholics, let us understand this clearly: we have to save our faith, and we shall save it through liberty. . . . All Frenchmen, whatever may be the diversity of their beliefs, have the same interest in maintaining its free and complete execution; and moreover it is a question here of the first of liberties, religious liberty, desired not only by Catholics but also by all of France.

Aiming his remarks directly at the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, Lamennais demanded the elimination of the ecclesiastical budget, without which there can never be religious independence and complete freedom from state intrusion. He concluded his article with a forceful and direct appeal to the French clergy to seek only the support of the one who was born in a manger and who died upon the cross, and to follow Him in suffering and in poverty. There appears to be an element of pathos and compassion in the words:

Ministers of Him who was born in a manger and died upon a cross, go back to your origin; steep yourselves voluntarily in poverty, in

[4] L'Avenir, October 18, 1830.

suffering, and the words of the poor and suffering God will regain upon your lips their original efficacy. Without other support than the word of God, go down, like the twelve fishermen, among the people, and begin again the conquest of the world.

Then in a grand crescendo of faith in the persistent truths of the gospel of Jesus, Lamennais dares to look into the future:

A new era of triumph and glory is being prepared for Christianity. See on the horizon the signs that foretell the rising of the sun, and behold the messengers of hope who chant upon the ruins of empires, upon the debris of all that is transitory, the song of life.

The privileges of establishment of any Church carry with them the threat to religious liberty. The only realistic and workable relation between Church and State is that outlined by Lamennais, in which both institutions pursue unentangled paths; otherwise human freedom is jeopardized. The attempt to amalgamate two essentially competing interests can only result in violent and endless conflict. By allowing the various religious denominations unrestricted development in the area of mutual competition, Lamennais felt that one group would be unable to usurp the rights of other sects, or to threaten legitimate state authority.

The foregoing selections from L'Avenir portray in bold strokes Lamennais' insistence upon liberty as the most fundamental requirement of a healthy society, without which civilization must inevitably decay. In succeeding issues of L'Avenir, Lamennais continued to press his demands for liberty with increasing directness and with consummate courage. He demanded a wide extension of suffrage; he described liberty of conscience, liberty of teaching and liberty of association as, "trois grandes et imperieuses necessités de l'époque." [5]

For Lamennais, every citizen must be able to communicate freely his private and personal experiences, no matter how bizarre they may be, without threat of suppression if his participation in social growth is to contribute to the evolution of human culture. Without freedom of intellect and of association, with which it is inexorably identified, man degenerates into an enslaved animal,

[5] L'Avenir, October 17, 1830.

for he lacks the only possible means of self-protection from sinister and asocial ends. Any institution, whether Church or State, which inhibits the free play of these basic liberties, removes itself from public criticism and thereupon assumes the rôle of oppressor and tyrant. The silence of the enslaved masses is taken as tacit approval of entrenched power, whereas, in reality, it is a patent manifestation of public disapproval, inarticulate because of fear. Responsible authority must take into account the varieties of human experience, a process which can only be done realistically to the extent that the manifold mutations of experience be allowed free expression. It is for this reason that Lamennais demanded so vigorously religious liberty not only for Catholics but for Protestants as well, or for that matter, freedom for all sects:

> In order that no obscurity remain on our thoughts, we ask first, freedom of conscience or the freedom of religion, entire, universal, without distinction and without privilege . . .[6]

Thus liberty of thought and speech carries with it the right to condemn vigorously any supposed misuse of authority or power, either by the Church or by the State. In addition, this freedom does not permit the coercion of opinion on any subject, but on the contrary sanctions only reasonable persuasion as the means for gaining adherents to a given idea.

The use of force and terror in molding opinion is a method which only results in the total defeat of the purpose for which it was devised. Persecution inevitably strengthens belief and gathers to its fold many who in the absence of threat would have shown slight interest in it. It is the nature of the growth of truth to begin in the individual mind before it finds wide acceptance in the minds of many persons. As Harold Laski has pointed out, the heresies which we suppress today become the orthodoxies of tomorrow. (7, p. 83.)

No individual or institution has the right to determine for the masses of men what is true and what is false. Only in the arena of free intellectual competition can falsehoods be distinguished from truths; to the extent of his ability and his enlightenment, the high responsibility of every citizen lies in the search for truth

[6] L'Avenir, December 7, 1830.

amid the welter of confusing and conflicting ideas. Institutions, religious or otherwise, which regard themselves as the sole purveyors of truth for mankind inevitably play the rôle of upholding special interests, and in that task manage to abridge if not entirely to suppress human freedom.

Lamennais, in a fearless appreciation of the quest for truth, denied that religious insights were the monopoly of any institution. On the contrary he affirmed liberty of conscience as the supreme arbiter in the search for truth and marked it as "le premier droit des Francais."

Freedom of teaching is a right, the importance of which to a healthy society Lamennais was not unaware; without it neither religious liberty nor freedom of thought were possible. Lamennais was peculiarly sensitive to the multi-faceted nature of truth, and he realized fully the necessity for a pluralistic approach to the data of experience. The prostitution of education by allowing only the expression of vested opinion disturbed Lamennais deeply; he regarded it as a frontal attack upon liberty of conscience and freedom of teaching in the interests of exploitation and acquisition. With incomparable penetration, Lamennais pointed out that when reason and law are forced to yield to authority and tradition, the whole of life is governed by sheer passion for power. He was not attacking social control as such, but rather the concentration of control in the hands of the few who possess the economic power to exercise it at the expense of the masses. Power thus conceived oppresses and restricts unnecessarily, and becomes particularly dangerous when allied with religious institutions, for it then masquerades in the name of decency and liberty, while in reality it indulges in persecution and tyranny.

Essential to the climate of intellectual liberty and a corollary of freedom of speech is freedom of the press. Persuasive, reasoned communication was for Lamennais not a liberty which the State owes its members but rather a liberty upon which the very existence of the State depends. The dissemination of enlightenment is necessary to a democratic society, and the minds of the people must be receptive to the argument of reason, and not be bludgeoned by force or violence. Driving to the heart of the problem, Lamennais wrote:

We ask . . . for liberty of the press, that is to say, that it be freed from the numerous obstacles which still prevent its development, and in particular, from the financial obstacles by which means they have endeavored to hinder particularly the periodical press. . . . In our eyes the press is but an extension of speech, and like speech, it is a divine blessing, a powerful and universal means of communication among men, and the most active instrument which has been given them to hasten the development of general intelligence. It can be misused, no doubt; who does not know that? But speech is also misused, and one of these abuses, whatever one may say, is no more to be feared than the other, and perhaps even less so. Let us have faith in truth, in its eternal form, and we shall greatly reduce both these suspicious precautions and these acts of vengeance against thought which have never suppressed any error and which have often caused the downfall of government by deluding it into foolish confidence and a false sense of security.[7]

The complete dedication of Lamennais to the cause of democrary and liberty is beautifully expressed in a stirring call to the clergy and the laity of France, of every denomination, to unite in common cause the greatness of which transcends personal differences of creed and politics.

As for us, simple priests and simple laymen, let us fight incessantly for our freedom; let us not allow anyone at all to dare to deprive us of our common rights. Let us show that we are Frenchmen by firmly defending what no one can take from us without violating the law of the land. Let us say to the sovereign: We shall obey you as long as you yourself obey that law which has made you what you are and without which you are nothing. Let us say to our brothers, whatever may be their opinions or their beliefs: All of us have the same interests, our cause is yours; if your rights were threatened, ours would be also. What matter our former divisions and our mutual wrongs? We were both seeking, along different paths, what we have happily found. Henceforth there will be one sentiment which must obliterate all painful memories, one word which must unite us all, liberty! [8]

Lamennais' belief in the common man is based upon the proposition that the masses of men, in their collective judgment, are far wiser than the judgment of a self-appointed elite, and it was from

[7] L'Avenir, December 7, 1830.
[8] L'Avenir, November 26, 1830.

the common man that he sought the liberation of humanity. Friedrich has put the matter in sharp focus in terms to which Lamennais would give whole-hearted consent, "The belief in the common man of all races and all religions is a necessary prerequisite of world government. Nations will take their place along with churches and professions and other free groupings of men within the broader organization of a liberated mankind." (5, p. 79.)

To implement the policies of L'Avenir, Lamennais and his associates established the Agence générale pour la defense de la liberté religieuse, the purpose of which was to defend the clergy if persecuted by the government, to support religious schools and freedom of teaching, to protect the right of association and to coördinate the work of the various religious societies organized throughout France to repel attacks against liberty. (4, p. 74.) After scarcely thirteen months of publication, followed by the condemnation of Pope Gregory XVI, L'Avenir was discontinued and the Agence dissolved.

On the 15th of August 1832, the Pope issued his encyclical Mirari Vos, which expressed plainly and forcibly the terms in which the Church envisaged the issues of intellectual freedom. Although of normative rather than dogmatic value, the encyclical is a highly significant document whose importance for an adequate understanding of Roman Catholic social and religious thought can scarcely be over-estimated.

The earlier portion of Mirari Vos describes the tribulations and anxieties which beset the pontificate of Gregory XVI since his elevation to that high office two years before. Sacred things are profaned, doctrine is perverted and errors of all kinds are promulgated. Hence the necessity for issuing the encyclical as a means of combating these destructive tendencies. Since the teachings of Christ are alleged to be perpetual and immutable, the manner in which these teachings shall be expounded is likewise perpetual and immutable and any tendencies which deviate from traditional Catholic thought and doctrine must of necessity be condemned.

A fundamental problem with which Mirari Vos is concerned is *indifferentism*, "or that villainous notion which is spreading in all directions owing to the deceit of wicked men, that a man can obtain eternal salvation in any faith if only his morals are upright

and pure." [9] The consequences of seeking salvation outside the Catholic faith are portrayed in the most ominous terms.

In contrast to Lamennais' position, Mirari Vos denies the harmony which should exist between the insights of faith on the one hand, and individual understanding on the other. Religious experience not subjected to the reflections of understanding thins out to the point of obscurantism. Precisely because theology has incorporated into its structure rigidly immutable premises upon which dogma is erected by deduction, it has been crowded out of the intellectual arena and forced to take refuge in the cloistered libraries of seminaries. By denying the validity of personal insight and resting the case of theology upon the mentality and the obsolete idiom of an earlier day, Mirari Vos promulgates intolerance and confusion and disclaims any attempt to synthesize religious elements of a heterogeneous nature.

Lamennais did not propose that the Church should reform its creed to conform with the daily fluctuations of society or even of scientific knowledge; rather he insisted that the Church should not shackle its own growth and stifle the inevitable expansion of thought. Indeed, he was fully aware of the need of the Church to preserve unity and discipline in matters of theology, but he refused to make his submission to the Catholic Church so unqualified as to neglect and ignore the critical method in religion or the fundamental importance of liberty in social growth.

Pope Gregory XVI was unable to conceive of liberty except in the extreme terms of license and sheer irresponsibility. His stinging criticisms of liberty of conscience imply that it is nothing but the most careless and thoughtless abuse of intellectual freedom and he lashes out at those who cherish it as attempting to work "widespread ruin both in the religious and in the civil world." Nor did freedom of the press fare any better at the bitter pen of Gregory XVI who waxed eloquent in his lengthy attacks upon it.

To pursue such a policy of intransigence with respect to freedom was for Lamennais tantamount to intellectual and moral suicide. In disappointment and tormenting distress together with

[9] Author's translation. The Latin version of Mirari Vos may be found in 8, p. 316 ff.

a desire to effect peace within the bounds of reason, he stopped the publication of L'Avenir. The Church was not the ally of freedom which Lamennais had envisaged; to his keen disappointment he discovered that the new wine of liberty could not be safely entrusted to the old bottles of Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

Speaking of L'Avenir, Laski pointed out that it had done "more perhaps, than any other weapon to fasten the roots of liberal doctrine deep down in the soil of Catholicism. Certainly no journal has ever more splendidly fulfilled its program. Its very disappearance was important, for it marked the first of the three defeats suffered by liberal Catholics in the first century of their existence. Yet in the short period of its existence it was able to elaborate a political theory of which no one can as yet foretell the complete potentialities." (6, p. 235.)

Embittered and disillusioned by the sudden shattering of his life's work, Lamennais published the Paroles d'un croyant. On every page of this little book is the inspiration of a poignant soul who suffered the barbed lashes of an ecclesiastical hierarchy which neither understood his purpose, nor appreciated in the slightest manner his deep religious insights.

It is extremely difficult to describe the Paroles d'un croyant in terms adequate to the majesty of its highly apocalyptic theme. Inspired by an overhwelming sense of injustice, the author portrays in resplendent word-pictures a vision of terror, of blood and of the most cruel tyranny in which liberty is ravished and trampled under foot. The reader is constantly aware that the horrible scenes which the book conjures have their counterpart in reality, and he is stirred to the very depths by the manner in which the theme twists and turns upon itself in the abyss of agony and despair; yet at the end despair is lost in the dawn of hope and freedom.

The main theme starts with a subdued overture:

> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.
>
> Glory be to God in the heights of heaven, and peace upon earth to men of goodwill.
>
> Let him who has ears, hear: let him who has eyes, open them, and behold, for the time draweth nigh.

Eighteen centuries ago the word shed abroad the divine seed, and the Holy Spirit made it fruitful. Men saw it flourish, and tasted the fruits of it, the fruits of the tree of life replanted in their poor dwellings.

I say unto you, there was great joy amongst them when they saw the light, and felt themselves touched by the celestial fire.

Now is the earth again become gloomy and cold.

Our fathers saw the sun decline: when it descended beneath the horizon all the race of man trembled. There was in that night a something that is without a name. Children of the night, the sunset is dark: but the east is already brightening towards dawn. (3, p. 1.)

After describing the enormity of human suffering, in terms which are almost lurid, the author challenges oppressed humanity to unite in love and throw off the chains of tyranny which bind it:

You are the sons of the same father, and the same mother has nursed you: why then do you not love one another like brethren? and why is it that you rather treat each other as enemies?

He who loves not his brother, is accursed seven times; and he who makes himself the enemy of his brother, is accursed seventy times seven.

This is wherefore kings and princes, and all those whom the world calls great, are accursed: they loved not their brethren, but they treated them as enemies. . . .

They are only powerful against you, because you are not at unity with yourselves, because you love not each other as brethren.

Say not, He is of such a nation, and I am of another nation: for all nations have had on earth the same father, who is Adam, and in heaven the same father, who is God.

If one member be struck, the whole body suffers. You are all one body: if one amongst you be oppressed, the whole is oppressed. . . . (3, p. 5.)

In a somewhat plaintive mood, Lamennais cautions the reader against hastily judging those who have been imprisoned or murdered for the sake of ideals, for which death was not too great a price:

When you see a man led to prison or to punishment, be not hasty within yourselves to say, Such a one is a wicked man, who is guilty of crime against his brethren:

For peradventure he is a good man, who has endeavored to serve his brethren, and who is punished for it by their oppressors. . . .

Eighteen centuries ago, in a city of the East, the priests and kings of that time nailed to a cross, after having beaten with rods, one whom they called Seditious and a Blasphemer.

But on the day of his death, there was in hell an exceeding terror, and in heaven great joy:

For the blood of the just had saved the world. (3, p. 6.)

In chapter XIII, appears a terrible vision from which the reader recoils as from some awful nightmare, wondering if, in its livid horror, such a dream can possibly find its counterpart in reality. The heavy somber mood of the earlier part of the book is reëmphasized throughout the chapter, and reaches a stirring climax in a theme of melancholy beauty.

And it was a dark night; a starless sky weighed upon the earth as a lid of black marble upon a tomb.

And the silence of that night was unbroken, save by an unknown sound, as of a light flapping of wings, that from time to time was heard above the fields and the cities.

And the shades thickened, and each felt his soul straitened within itself, and a thrill ran through his veins.

And in a chamber hung with black, and lighted by a reddish lamp, seven men clothed in purple, each wearing upon his head a crown, were seated upon seven seats of iron.

And in the midst of the chamber rose a throne composed of bones; and at the foot of the throne, after the manner of a footstool, was a crucifix reversed; and before the throne was a table of ebony; and on the table a vase full of blood, red and foamy, and a human skull.

And the seven men wearing the crown were thoughtful and sad. . . .

And one amongst them, having risen, drew near to the table, tottering, and put his foot upon the crucifix.

And at this moment his limbs trembled, and he was ready to faint. The others looked at him motionless, and they made not the smallest movement; but something passed over their brow, and a smile that was not of man contracted their lips.

And he who had appeared ready to faint, stretched forth his hand, and seized the vase full of blood, and poured of it into the skull, and drank it. . . .

And lifting up his head, this cry issued from his breast as a hoarse rattling:

Accursed be Christ, who has restored Liberty to the earth!

And the six other crowned men rose up together, and together they uttered the same cry:

Accursed be Christ, who has restored Liberty to the earth!

After which, having again sat down upon their seats of iron, the first said,

My brothers, what shall we do to quench Liberty? For our reign is over when that begins. Our cause is the same. Our cause is one. Let each propose what seemeth best to him.

Here is the counsel that I give. Before Christ came, who stood before us? It is his religion that is our destruction: let us abolish the religion of Christ.

And the second advanced towards the throne, and took the human skull, and having poured of the blood into it, he drank it, and said thus:

It is not religion alone that we ought to abolish, but science and thought likewise; for science teaches that which it is not good for us that man should know, and thought is always ready to kick against strength.

And they all replied, It is true: let us abolish science and thought.

And having done like as the two first had done, a third said,

When we shall have thrust men back again into brutishness, by taking from them religion and science, and thought, we shall have done much; but there will yet remain something else for us to do.

The brute has dangerous instincts and sympathies. No nation must hear the voice of any other nation, lest that one, wailing and bestirring himself, this one may be tempted to imitate him. Let no sound from without be heard amongst us. . . .

And the fourth said, We have our interests, and the people have likewise their interest opposed to ours. If they united to defend their interests, how shall we resist them?

Let us divide to reign. Let us create in every province, in every city, in every hamlet, an individual interest, in opposition to the interest of the other hamlets, the other cities, the other provinces.

And thus they will all hate each other, and they will forget to unite together against us. . . .

And a fifth, having twice filled of the blood, and twice drained the human skull, said, I approve of all these methods; they are good; but they are not enough. To brutify (sic) men is well; but frighten the brutes, strike them with terror by an inexorable justice and by atrocious punishments, if you would not that sooner or later you should be devoured by them. The executioner is the prime minister of a good prince. . . .

And a sixth said,

I acknowledge the advantage of speedy, terrible and inevitable punishments. Nevertheless, there are strong souls and desperate souls that brave punishments.

Would you easily govern men, effeminate them by luxury. Virtue avails us nothing; it feeds strength: let us rather exhaust by corruption. . . .

Then the seventh, having, as the others, drank of the human skull, spoke in this manner, with his feet upon the crucifix:

Down with Christ! there is war unto the death, eternal war, between Him and us.

But how shall we draw off the nations from Him? This is a vain attempt. What, then, shall we do? Listen to me: Let us gain over to us the ministers of Christ with wealth, and honors, and power.

And they will command the people, on the part of Christ, to be subject to us in all things, whatever we may do, whatsoever we may ordain.

And the people will believe them, and they will obey by conscience, and our power will be stronger than heretofore. . . .

And suddenly the lamp that lighted the chamber went out, and the seven men were separated from each other in the darkness.

And it was said to a just one, at that moment watching and praying before the cross: Thy day draweth nigh. Worship and fear nothing. (3, pp. 20–23.)

Following several brief chapters in which the apocalyptic vision gives way to a delightfully written, though keen analysis of the sufferings of mankind, Lamennais writes of liberty with surpassing beauty and grandeur.

And that which joins families to families, nations to nations, is first the law of God, the law of justice and of charity, and then the law of liberty, which is also the law of God.

For without liberty, how can union exist among men? They would be united as the horse is united to the rider, as the whip of the master to the skin of the slave. . . .

Be not deceived by idle words. Many will seek to persuade you that you are really free, when they shall have written on a sheet of paper the word liberty, and shall have posted it up in the streets. It is a living power felt within us, and around us; the protecting genius of the domestic hearth, the safeguard of our social rights, and the first of these rights.

The oppressor who clothes himself with this name is the worst of op-

pressors. He joins falsehood to tyranny, injustice to profanation; for the name of liberty is holy.

Guard against those men who say, Liberty, Liberty! and destroy it by their works. . . .

Liberty will shine upon you when, by courage and perseverance, you shall have freed yourselves from all . . . bondage.

Liberty shall shine upon you when you shall say in the bottom of your soul, We will be free; and when, to become so, you shall be ready to sacrifice all and to suffer all.

Liberty will shine upon you when, at the foot of the cross upon which Christ died for you, you shall have sworn to die for each other. . ...

Understand well how you may become free.

To be free, you must before all things love God, for if you love God you will do his will; and the will of God is justice and charity, without which there can be no liberty. . . .

Love God above all things, and your neighbor as yourself, and bondage will disappear from the earth. . . .

Liberty is as the kingdom of God; it suffers violence, and the violent take it by force.

But the violence which will put you in possession of liberty is not the brutal violence of robbers and brigands, injustice, revenge and cruelty; but a determined and inflexible will, a calm and generous courage.

The holiest cause is transformed into an impious and execrable cause when guilt is used to support it. From a slave, the guilty man may become a tyrant; but he never becomes free. (3, p. 20.)

The little book ends with a superb passage of exquisite beauty which portrays the kingdom of Christ in which all men are united in freedom and love.

On the 7th of July 1834, Pope Gregory XVI issued his encyclical Singulari Nos censuring the Paroles d'un croyant. The condemnatory document recalls certain writings in which Lamennais had given testimony of his unqualified obedience and subjection to ecclesiastical authority, and had further declared that he would not write anything dealing with theological problems. But in the face of this agreement, Lamennais published the Paroles d'un croyant which Singulari Nos characterizes as "small in size but immense in its perversity." Like the doctrine of L'Avenir, the message of the Paroles d'un croyant is indicted as subversive and tending to incite sedition, the result, again, of indifferentism. The

encyclical completely ignores the richly poetic strain in which the Paroles d'un croyant was written. It regards in the most literal fashion the vivid and flaming imagery as an attempt to destroy, by the wildest anarchy, all social solidarity and religious unity.

As in Mirari Vos, Gregory XVI spares no words in his scathing attack upon freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, liberties which are to be "completely condemned," and he again deplores the error of those who seek religious truth outside the Catholic Church. Both Mirari Vos and Singulari Nos betray the bitterest hostility toward the fundamental principles of intellectual freedom.

Following the condemnation of the Paroles d'un croyant, Lamennais — exiled from the Roman Communion — identified all his efforts with the democratic movement, and for the remainder of his life employed his acid pen in burning attacks upon those who sought to impose their wills upon the people and to usurp their freedom.

Disappointed and embittered by the failure of the Church to lead mankind into the kingdom of Christ as he envisaged that kingdom, his life apparently wasted, Lamennais welcomed death on the 27th of February, 1854. Following his wishes to be buried as one of the poor for whom he had valiantly fought for so long, his remains were placed, unmarked, in the potter's field of Père-Lachaise.

In the dedication of his rich talents and of his life to the cause of humanity, the Abbé Lamennais was a noble and saintly example of Pascal's famous dictum: "Thought makes the whole dignity of man: therefore endeavor to think well, that is the only morality."

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PLINY AND THE CHRISTIANS

Many inferences have been drawn by liturgical scholars from the letter of Pliny to Trajan, Epist. x. 96, in the year 112. The purpose of this note is to suggest that such inferences are at least partly invalid.

Pliny states that he has never been present at judicial investigations where Christians have been involved, although earlier in his mission to Bithynia and Pontus he forbade the meetings of associations and must have been prepared to investigate infringements of his order. He is uncertain as to what precise charge is to be brought against them, although he is aware, since he employs torture, that they are lawbreakers. The Roman government was accustomed to intervene in such cases only when there was or seemed to be a threat against public order (cf. H. Last, "The Study of the 'Persecutions'," JRS 27 [1937], 80–92). But Pliny does not know exactly how to proceed.

Cicero points out (Leg. ii. 37) that in a case involving nocturnal rites the significant example is that of the suppression of the Bacchanalia in B. C. 186 (cf. Tertullian Apol. vi. 7), and Pliny would naturally look for such a precedent. He would find an account of it in the historian Livy, who wrote for practical use by giving examples from the past, so that *tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias* (Praef., 10). And we know that like many of his contemporaries Pliny was an ardent admirer of Livy (cf. Epist. ii. 3. 8), and that at the age of seventeen he had already begun making excerpts from his work (Epist. vi. 20. 5, written about twenty-five years later; thus he did not use an epitome like the one mentioned in Martial xiv. 190 or found fragmentarily in P. Oxy. iv. 668 [third century, containing summaries of books xxxvii–xl and xlviii–lv]).

The parallels between the record of Pliny's examination and the narrative of Livy suggest that Pliny was influenced by his memories of the historian's work, and that his phrasing does not necessarily reflect the Christians' words at every point.

Pliny, Epist. 96		Livy, Book xxxix	
7	ante lucem convenire	8	occulta et nocturna sacra
	carmen . . . secum invicem	18	ex carmine sacro praeeunte verba sacerdote precationes fecerant, in quibus nefanda coniuratio in omne facinus ac libidinem
	sacramentum non in scelus		

	cibum promiscuum . . . innoxium	8	vinum et epulae . . . caedes ut ne corpora quidem exstarent
9	omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus	8	mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae maioribus
	neque civitates tantum sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio	9	huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam veluti contagione morbi penetravit

While such charges are almost commonplace against obscure minority groups, the similarity of language seems to show that Pliny has Livy in mind, and to a considerable extent takes his phrasing from him.

This conclusion supports the interpretation of H. Lietzmann, "Carmen = Taufsymbol," Rhein. Mus. 71 (1916), 281-82 (cf. A. Kurfess, ZNW 35 [1936], 295–98) as against C. J. Kraemer, Jr., Class. Phil. 29 (1934), 293–300 (carmen a psalm), S. L. Mohler, Class. Phil. 30 (1935), 167–69 (carmen the Shema), L. C. Mohlberg, Riv. di arch. crist. 14 (1937), 109–22 (carmen the Kyrie), and C. C. Coulter, Class. Phil. 35 (1940), 62 (carmen a hymn). It also confirms the observations of A. D. Nock, Class. Rev. 38 (1924), 58–59 (sacramentum a baptismal oath) as against Mohlberg (loc. cit., not baptismal) and does not contradict the view of Kraemer (loc. cit.) that the oath is based on the Decalogue (cf. HTR 40 [1947], 11–12).

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